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THE

MEDITATIONS

OF THE EMPEROR

MARCUS AURELIUS

ANTONINUS.

NEWLY tranſlated from the GREEK: with NOTES, and an account of his LIFE.

SECOND EDITION.

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M DCC XLIX.

INTRODUCTION:

CONTAINING SOME OF THE

MOST MEMORABLE PASSAGES,

PRESERV'D, OF THE LIFE OF THE

EMPEROR

MARCUS ANTONINUS.

THE authors of this tranſlation, judging that theſe divine ſentiments of ANTONINUS, may be of ſome advantage to many who have not acceſs to them, while they are kept in the learned languages, undertook to make them as plain as the ſubjects would admit. ſome of theſe me-

ditations cannot well be apprehended, without a conſiderable acquaintance with the philoſophy and ſtile of the Stoics: ſome of them are only memorial hints this great man intended for himſelf alone, the deſign of which, the commentators cannot pretend certainly to explain; and the true text of the original is not always certain: but, there are many of them obvious to every capacity; which contain ſome of the plaineſt, and yet moſt ſtriking conſiderations, to affect the hearts of thoſe who have any ſenſe of goodneſs, and warm them with the nobleſt emotions, of piety, gratitude, and reſignation to GOD; contempt of ſenſual pleaſure, wealth, worldly grandeur, and fame; and a conſtant inflexible charity, and good-will and

compaſſion toward our fellows, ſuperior to all the force of anger or envy, or our little interfering worldly intereſts.

THE old Engliſh tranſlation can ſcarce be agreeable to any reader; becauſe of the intricate and antiquated ſtile. the late tranſlation ſeems not to preſerve ſufficiently the grand ſimplicity of the original. this tranſlation, therefore, is almoſt intirely new; according to Gataker's edition of the original, and his Latin verſion.

'TIS quite foreign to our deſign, either to ſhew art and ingenuity in drawing a character of this great man; or in making encomiums upon him; or to diſplay our diligence or knowledge, in making an hiſtory of his life. his own meditations, to every judici-

ous reader, will preſent a great ſoul; adorned with the ſoundeſt underſtanding, the moſt amiable ſweetneſs and kindneſs of affections, the moſt invincible meekneſs, ſteddy juſtice, humility, and ſimplicity, and the moſt entire reſignation to GOD. and the hiſtory of his life, even as 'tis imperfectly preſerved to us, will ſhew his great capacity, and penetration, in public affairs, and his ſtrength of mind, calmneſs, and intrepidity amidſt the greateſt dangers.

TO give theſe meditations the greater force upon the mind of the reader; as well as to gratify his natural curioſity; and, to remove what prejudices may poſſibly occur to him; we ſubjoin the following ſhort abſtract of

his life, taken from the collections made by Dacier and Stanhope.

MARCUS AURELIUS was born in the year of our Lord 121, during the reign of Adrian. by his father Annius Verus, he was of one of the greateſt families in Italy, deſcended, as 'tis ſaid, from Numa. his grandfather had been thrice Conſul and Prefect of the city, and ſurvived Annius Verus. his aunt by his father, Annia Fauſtina, was married to Antoninus Pius the Emperor. Marcus Aurelius's mother was alſo of an eminent conſular family, the daughter of Calviſius Tullus.

OUR Emperor's firſt name was Annius Verus, the ſame with his father's. Adrian, who had loved him

from his infancy, called him Annius Veriſſimus; probably, from the early appearance of candour and veracity in his temper. when he was adopted into the Aurelian family, he took the name of his adoptive father Marcus Aurelius. he was but a child when his own father died; but was educated by his grandfather; who procured for him the beſt inſtructors in pronuntiation, muſic, geometry, greek, and rhetoric, or, oratory. but his ſoul was ſoon intent upon ſomething ſtill greater than theſe ingenious accompliſhments; and he ſhewed no high taſte for them. he was inſtructed in the Stoic philoſophy by Sextus Chaeronenſis, Plutarch's grandſon; Iunius Ruſticus, Claudius Maximus, and Cinna Catulus; and in the Peripate-

tic, by Claudius Severus. philoſophy was his favourite ſtudy.

HE ſhewed his perpetual gratitude to theſe good men; not only by promoting them in the world, to dignity and wealth; but by a continual reſpect for them, even when he was in the higheſt elevation of fortune. and, in the very beginning of his meditations, he has perpetuated their memory, his own gratitude, and his honeſt humility, in aſcribing all his virtues to their inſtructions, and nothing to himſelf; in a manner truly original, and peculiar to him. he ſtudied alſo the laws of his country under Volutius Mecianus, the moſt celebrated lawyer of that age.

HE was dear to Adrian, ſo early, that he was advanced to the equeſtri-

an dignity at ſix years of age; and made one of the prieſts of Mars at eight. he was even intruſted with ſome great charges, before he was twenty; and acquitted himſelf with as great decency and dignity, as any of the old magiſtrates. he had ſome taſte for painting, in his youth, and practiſed it for ſome time. but he more admired wreſtling, racing, tennis, and hunting, as the natural means of health and vigour, for the diſcharging all honourable offices. he often encountered the fierceſt boars, with ſafety and honour.

BUT, his chief delight was in the Stoic philoſophy; and that in practice, as well as ſpeculation. he lived up to all their auſterities, in ſpare diet, plain dreſs, and abſtinence from all ſoftneſs,

effeminacy, and luxury; even from twelve years of age. nature had formed him for the greateſt dignity and conſtancy; with a ſingular firmneſs of ſoul; not to be moved by any accidents; ſo that moſt of the hiſtorians aſſure us, that ſcarce ever did joy or grief make any change in his countenance; and this gravity was ever eaſy to others; being free from all moroſeneſs or pride.

HE gave up all his father's, and his mother's eſtate too, to his ſiſter Annia Cornificia, who was married to Numidius Quadratus.

A. D. 139. ADRIAN, upon the death of his former adoptive ſon Ceſenius Commodus, inclined to have adopted Marcus Aurelius to be his ſucceſſor, then about 18 years of age;

but deeming him too young, he adopted Antoninus Pius, on condition that he ſhould immediately adopt Marcus, and L. Verus, the ſon of the ſame Commodus. 'tis ſaid that Marcus had dreamed, the preceeding night, that his ſhoulders and arms were of ivory, and that he found them much ſtronger than formerly. the news of his adoption ſeemed to afflict him; and he ſpoke a great deal, on that occaſion, about the evils and dangers which always attend ſupreme power.

A. D. 140. UPON Adrian's death, Antoninus Pius his ſucceſſor betrothed his daughter Fauſtina in marriage to Marcus Aurelius, and raiſed him to the conſulſhip; and, ſoon after, conferred on him the honours of the ſucceſſors to the empire. theſe things in-

creaſed his keenneſs in the ſtudy and practice of philoſophy; and Antoninus Pius brought Apollonius the Stoic from Athens, to aſſiſt him.

ABOUT this time, Marcus's old tutor died; who had had the conſtant charge of him from his infancy. on this occaſion, he could not refrain from tears; and when ſome about the court, put him in mind of his uſual conſtancy and ſteddineſs, Antoninus Pius replied in his defence, 'you muſt 'give him leave to be a man: n. 'ther 'philoſophy nor imperial dignity can 'exſtinguiſh our natural affections.'

A. D. 147. AT the age of 25, he married Fauſtina: a wife no way ſuited to ſuch an huſband. ſhe ſoon bore him a daughter; and, in the ſame year, the ſenate conferred on him all

manner of honours and powers; even higher than on any of his predeceſſors; and he ever employed them for the good of the ſtate; always promoting men ſolely on account of their merit; and ſeemed to pay ſtill greater deference to Antoninus the Emperor, perpetually attending him, and doing him all manner of kind offices; ſo that their mutual friendſhip was inacceſſible to all the attempts of deſigning men, to raiſe any diſtruſts or ſuſpicions between them.

A. D. 161. UPON the death of Antoninus Pius, the ſenate obliged Marcus Aurelius to take upon him the government; and he aſſumed L. Verus as partner in it. they both took the name of Antoninus; and Marcus betrothed his daughter Lucilla to Ve-

rus. after this, they celebrated, with the greateſt magnificence, the funeral, or, apotheoſis of Antoninus; the ceremonies of which are told by all antiquaries; and each of the new Emperors made a funeral oration upon him.

As ſoon as he was ſettled in the ſupreme power, application was made from all quarters, by the heathen prieſts, philoſophers, and governors of provinces, for leave to perſecute the chriſtians. but, whatever perſecution there might be in the remoter provinces, we have no aſſurance that it was authoriſed by the Emperor; as indeed it was intirely contrary to his principles and inclination. 'tis even denied by Valeſius, in his notes upon Euſebius, that the apology of

Juſtin Martyr called the firſt, tho' truly the ſecond, was addreſſed to this Emperor, or to the ſenate, during his reign. he brings ſeveral reaſons to prove that both theſe apologies were wrote and preſented to Antoninus Pius. 'tis, however, probable, that there have been ſome conſiderable perſecutions, in ſeveral parts of the empire, during his reign. Euſebius preſerves to us a letter of this Emperor's, upon applications made by ſome of the heathens, for leave to perſecute the Chriſtians, when they had been terrified by ſome pretended prodigies and earthquakes. it was directed to ſome general council of Aſia, and carries along with it many characters of this author, tho' ſome aſcribe it to his predeceſſor.

'confide more in their God; but you,
'all this time, through your igno-
'rance, neglect the Gods, as well as
'other things, and all the worſhip
'due to that immortal Being, whoſe
'worſhippers, the chriſtians, you are
'haraſſing and perſecuting to death.
'many of the governors of provin-
'ces wrote about theſe matters, to
'my divine father; and he prohibited
'their giving the Chriſtians any diſ-
'turbance; unleſs they were found
'making ſome attempts againſt the
'Roman ſtate. many have applied to
'me about the ſame matter. I wrote
'to them in the ſame ſentiments with
'my father. if any ſhall ſtill perſiſt in
'proſecuting them, merely as Chriſ-
'tians, let the perſon proſecuted be
'acquitted, tho' it ſhould appear he

'were a Chriſtian; and let the proſe-
'cutor be puniſhed.'

THIS letter, and that extraordinary character which the Chriſtian writers, as well as the heathen, give to this Emperor, for juſtice, and lenity of temper, muſt eaſily convince us that he never could authoriſe ſuch perſecution of men, merely for Chriſtianity.

IN this firſt year of his reign, his ſon Commodus was born; whoſe horrid vices were, they ſay, fore-boded by ſeveral diſmal prodigies; ſuch as inundations, earthquakes, and the burning of ſeveral cities. the Emperor was immediately engaged in wars on all ſides; by the invaſions of the Parthians, all the way to Syria; and of the Catti, into Germany, as far as

to the country of the Griſons: Britons too revolted. Calphurnius Agricola was ſent to command in Britain; Aufidius Victorinus to oppose the Catti; and Verus went againſt the Parthians.

BUT as ſoon as Verus left Rome and was no longer overawed by the authority and virtue of Antoninus, he gave himſelf up to all debauchery, and fell ſick at Canuſium. M. Antoninus went thither to ſee him, and gave him his beſt advice as to his future conduct. Verus, upon his recovery, continued his march; but was not reformed by his ſickneſs. He plunged again into all ſort of debauchery at Daphne, one of the ſuburbs of Antioch, and committed the war to his lieutenants; which they managed ſuc-

ceſsfully. Antoninus, pleaſed with the ſucceſs, and, either unappriſed of his returning to his vices, or, hoping to reclaim him by all the ties of affection, offered him in marriage his daughter Lucilla, a princeſs of ſingular beauty; and ſent her to him, while he was in Syria. he declined going with her himſelf; leſt any ſhould imagine he aimed to ſhare the glory of theſe conqueſts. he wrote to the ſeveral * proconſuls and governors in her way, to be at no vain expence in her reception, as ſhe paſſed through their provinces; but to let her perform her journey in a private manner. this princeſs ſhewed as little regard to virtue, or her character, as her huſband. upon the ſucceſs * of

* A. D. 167. * A. D. 168.

this war, the two Emperors had a triumph.

ABOUT this time, upon an inſurrection of the Germans, Antoninus marched againſt them in perſon; and from his own judgment of the abilities of Pertinax, who afterwards was raiſed to the empire, made him one of his lieutenants; and never had reaſon to repent of his choice. this war was alſo ſucceſsful. the Germans were defeated, after their many vigorous efforts, by the bravery of the Emperor and his army. Antoninus ſhewed his wiſdom and ſteddineſs on this occaſion, when the victorious army, after their great and dangerous ſervices, demanded an augmentation of their pay: he refuſed it; telling them that 'he could not do it but at

'the expence of their brethren and 'kinſmen; for whom he was account-'able to God.'

A. D. 169. THE year following, a more dangerous war aroſe from the Quadi and Marcomanni; while the plague alſo raged in Italy. the Emperor uſed great variety of ſacrifices and religious rites, to appeaſe the Gods; and then went againſt the enemy, taking Verus along with him, who rather inclined to have continued in his debaucheries at Rome. Antoninus ſoon conquered the enemy; and, in his return, Verus died of an apoplexy at Altinum, or, as ſome ſuſpect, by poiſon, given him by his wife Lucilla, upon finding an inceſtuous intrigue of his with his own ſiſter.

ABOUT this time, the governors

of ſome remote provinces renewed the perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, there is no other evidence of the Emperor's authority interpoſed, or countenance given, for this purpoſe, except, that, in anſwer to a letter of the governor of Gaul, aſking what the Emperor inclined ſhould be done with ſome Chriſtian priſoners, he ordered, 'that ſuch only as confeſſed, 'ſhould be put to death, and the reſt 'releaſed.' now, Chriſtians were ordinarily accuſed for other crimes than any religious tenets; ſuch as treaſon and ſedition, the murdering of infants, and eating them, and inceſtuous debaucheries in their aſſemblies. 'tis very credible the Emperor intended by this order, that only ſuch ſhould die, as confeſſed theſe crimes, and not

all ſuch as confeſſed that they were of the Chriſtian religion; for, at that rate, ſcarce any would have been releaſed: and yet, upon this ambiguity, there was, in ſome provinces, a violent perſecution. 'tis thought that Antoninus was not at Rome in the year 166, but abroad, when Juſtin Martyr is ſaid to have ſuffered. it was probably on this occaſion, that Athenagoras compoſed, and ſent to the Emperor, his beautiful and juſt defence of the Chriſtians yet extant; inſiſting for leſs ambiguous orders, that none ſhould be puniſhed for the name of Chriſtian; but only upon a fair trial, whether they were guilty of the crimes laid to their charge; and vindicating the Chriſtians from them:

this, probably, procured them peace, during the reſt of this reign.

THE Marcomanni and Quadi, aſſiſted by the Sarmatians, Vandals, and other nations, made more terrible efforts than ever, attacked Antoninus's army, and put the Romans to flight, with a great ſlaughter of near 20000. but the Emperor rallied them at Aquileia, and defeated the enemy, and drove them out of all Pannonia.

ABOUT this time, the Moors ravaged Spain, and the ſhepherds in Egypt took arms, and gave the greateſt diſturbance to the Romans in that province; but both were quelled by the vigilance of the Emperor, and the bravery of his lieutenants who commanded there; while he was heading the armies in the north; where he

forced at laſt the barbarous nations to ſubmit to his own terms.

WHEN peace was reſtored, the Emperor was continually employed for the good of his people; making wiſe laws, for prevention of frauds, and the ſpeedy adminiſtration of juſtice, and reforming all abuſes; ſharing his power with the Senate. he diſcovered the greateſt penetration, as well as fidelity, toward the public, in ſearching out and promoting men of ability and integrity, to all the great offices; and the greateſt patience and conſtancy, in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and conſulting in the Senate about public affairs; ſcarce ever loſing one moment of his time. his aſſiduity was the more ſurprizing, that his health had, for ſome years, been ex-

ceedingly impaired by the great fa
tigues he had indured. he was part
cularly inquiſitive about the cenſure
paſt upon his conduct; which he bor
with the greateſt meekneſs; his aim be
ing only that he might reform wha
ever was amiſs in it. he would adm
of no lofty titles, nor that impiou
flattery of building altars and temple
to himſelf.

THE old enemies of the Roman
the Marcomanni, watching their op
portunity, when the Roman troop
were diminiſhed by a plague, and th
treaſury much exhauſted, which th
Emperor's compaſſion for his peo
ple kept very low, perfidiouſly renew
ed their hoſtilities. he ſupplied h
treaſury, by ſelling, under a clauſe c
redemption, the moſt valuable move

ables of his palace; and his army, even by employing the gladiators.

BEFORE he marched againſt the enemy, he loſt his ſecond ſon Verus, then ſeven years old; and bore it with ſuch fortitude, that he omitted no public buſineſs on that account. this expedition proved more tedious and dangerous than any of the former. he at firſt gave them a defeat; having expoſed himſelf to the utmoſt hazard; from which, the grateful love of his ſoldiers protected him. after the battle, the Emperor himſelf went to the field, weeping over the ſlain among the enemies, and endeavouring to preſerve all that could be cured or relieved.

THE enemy, ſoon after, by ſkirmiſhing parties, feigning a flight, led

the Emperor and his army into ſuch ſtraits amidſt mountains, that they were incloſed on all ſides, and could not eſcape; all the paſſes being poſſeſſed by the enemy. here they were like to periſh with heat and thirſt, deprived of all water. they made ſome vigorous efforts to force their way; but without other effect, than to convince them that they were reſerved ſacrifices to the fury of the Barbarians. all the Emperor's efforts to rouſe the ſpirits of the fainting ſoldiers, were vain. he is ſaid to have committed himſelf and them to God, with the moſt ardent prayers; appealing to God for the innocence of his conduct in life. there were alſo many Chriſtians in the army; employed no doubt, in like ſupplications to God. in the event,

clouds ſuddenly aroſe, and thunder, with a moſt plentiful ſhower; while all the lightning fell among the Barbarians: with this, the Romans take courage, and the enemy are diſmayed. the Romans attack them in this confuſion, and put them to flight, with great ſlaughter, enraged with the freſh remembrance of their late danger.

THE heathens aſcribe this deliverance to the Emperor's piety; and the Chriſtians univerſally to the prayers of the legion of Mitilene, which ſome ignorantly averred had on this occaſion got the name of the Thundering Legion. that name was given to this legion, in the days of Auguſtus, for a quite different reaſon, becauſe they had thunderbolts engraved or painted on their ſhields. 'tis told in-

deed confidently, by Chriſtian wri-
ters near thoſe times, that the Empe-
ror was adviſed by the captain of his
guards, to employ the Chriſtians of
his army in prayer to their God,
who, he ſaid, refuſed nothing to their
prayers; and that he did ſo, and found
the ſurprizing event immediately an-
ſwering upon their prayers; and that,
in conſequence of this, he wrote to
the Senate, to ſtop all proſecutions a-
gainſt them, and give them full liber-
ty for the exerciſe of their religion.
'tis not improbable, from theſe bold
affirmations of Chriſtians, ſo near the
time of that event, that there has been
ſuch a letter; tho' the one now bea-
ring that ſtile, is reputed by many to
be a forgery. no doubt, ſuch a letter

would be ſuppreſſed by an heathen Senate.

ANTONINUS purſued this war, with the greateſt bravery, conduct, and clemency; ſometimes, in the purſuits, going himſelf into the woods and marſhes, where the poor Barbarians were lurking, and protecting them from the fury of his own ſoldiers. at laſt, he defeated them intirely, by many perilous encounters; and poſſeſſed himſelf of all their fortreſſes. he had added all theſe countries as provinces to the Roman empire, had he not been interrupted by the revolt of Caſſius; and even forced to accept of leſs advantageous terms of peace from theſe Barbarians, than they had formerly agreed to.

THE Emperor's conduct in the

whole affair, of this revolt, deſerves to be more particularly related; as by it his temper, and the greatneſs of his ſoul, is more ſhown than by his glorious military atchievements.

CASSIUS had been endeared to the army, by his early atchievments in Armenia, Egypt, and Arabia. he was a man of great art, courage, and patience, but prodigal, and diſſolute; tho' he could well conceal his vices. he revived the antient ſtrict military diſcipline, with great rigour, and kept the army ſober, and conſtantly employed. on the account of theſe good qualities, Caſſius was employed by the Emperor to recover the army quartered in Syria from their luxury, contracted under Verus; and he was much recommended by the Empe-

ror to the governors of theſe Eaſtern provinces. when he was thus promoted, he formed high deſigns, pretended to draw his pedigree from the old Caſſius, and talked much of reſtoring the old common-wealth. Verus, before his death, had ſuſpicion of his ambitious deſigns, from his conduct, and his jeſts upon Antoninus's ſtudious diſpoſition; and wrote his ſuſpicions to Antoninus, warning him to prevent his deſigns againſt him and his children, by putting him to death. to which, this was Antoninus's anſwer.

'I HAVE read your letter; which 'ſhews more of an anxious and timo-'rous ſpirit, than of that becoming an 'Emperor, and ſuits not my govern-'ment. if the Gods have decreed him

'the empire, we cannot diſpatch him,
'tho' we would. you know your
'great grandfather's proverb, " no
" prince ever killed his ſucceſſor." but
'if 'tis not decreed him, he will periſh
'without any cruelty of ours. there
'is no condemning a man whom no
'body accuſes, and whom the army
'loves. and, then, in caſes of treaſon,
'we are deemed to have injured even
'thoſe perſons who are fully convic-
'ted. you know what your grandfa-
'ther Adrian uſed to ſay, " the lot of
" ſovereigns is hard, they are never
" credited about conſpiracies formed
" againſt them, till they fall by them."
'I cite him to you, rather than Do-
'mitian, the author of the obſervati-
'on; becauſe the beſt ſayings of Ty-
'rants have not the weight they may

'deſerve. let Caſſius take his own 'way; eſpecially, ſince he is a good 'general, keeps ſtrict diſcipline, is 'brave, and neceſſary to the ſtate. as 'for caution about my children, by 'diſpatching him, let my children pe-'riſh, if Caſſius better deſerves the 'love of the Romans than they, and 'it be more the intereſt of our coun-'try, that Caſſius ſhould live, than 'the children of Marcus.'

A. D. 175. CASSIUS, when he had formed the ambitious deſign, either raiſed a report of Antoninus's death, and that the army in Pannonia had elected himſelf for Emperor, or took occaſion, from this report, to aſſume the ſovereign power. he gave all places in the army to his friends, and cauſed all to ſubmit to him, from

Syria to mount Taurus. he ſends a letter to his ſon at Alexandria, as a manifeſto, inveighing againſt the corruptions in the adminiſtration, the extortions of the proconſuls and governors, and the decay of antient rigour and ſeverity of manners, under a bookiſh Emperor, who neglected public affairs; and concludes, 'let the Gods 'favour the Caſſii, and the common-'wealth ſhall regain its antient dig-'nity.'

MARTIUS VERUS, ſent accounts of all theſe things to Antoninus; and he endeavoured to conceal them from the army; but, the matter was ſoon divulged: upon this, he addreſſed the army, (as Dion Caſſius relates,) to this effect. he firſt expreſſed the deepeſt regret for the impending miſery of

a civil war, the corruption of men, the ingratitude and perfidy, diſcovered by thoſe to whom he had done the kindeſt offices, and in whom he had confided: but he exhorted his ſoldiers, not to imagine that all faith and integrity were gone out of the earth. he had ſtill many faithful and brave friends: he had no fear of ſucceſs; ſupported both by his own innocence, his knowledge of the daſtardly diſpoſition of theſe diſſolute troops and nations who had revolted, and his experience of the fidelity and bravery of theſe he addreſſed. he ſubjoined the tendereſt expreſſions of clemency and pity, even toward Caſſius, and that preſerving his life, and pardoning him, would be to him more joyful than any triumph.

HE wrote alſo to the ſame purpoſe to the Senate, which immediately declared Caſſius a traitor, and confiſcated his eſtate to the city, ſince the Emperor would not take it to himſelf. he wrote alſo to Fauſtina this letter.

'VERUS's account of Caſſius was 'true, that he deſigned to uſurp. you 'have heard what the fortune-tellers 'have told him. come, therefore, to 'Alba, that we may conſult about 'theſe affairs, without fear, under the 'protection of the Gods.' ſhe returned this anſwer. 'I will go to Alba 'to morrow, as you order; but muſt 'adviſe you, if you love your children, to extirpate theſe rebels. both 'the officers and ſoldiers, are grown 'very ſeditious. they will cut you off, 'unleſs you prevent them.'

FAUSTINA being detained, contrary to her expectation, the Emperor wrote to her to meet him at Formiae, where he was to embark, but ſhe was detained at Rome, by the ſickneſs of her daughter, and wrote him this letter.

'IN a like revolt of Celſus, my 'mother adviſed Antoninus Pius, 'firſt, to ſhew his tenderneſs and 'goodneſs to his own, and then to 'others. a prince cannot be deemed 'to have the juſt fatherly affection to 'his people, who neglects his wife and 'children. you ſee the tender years 'of Commodus. our ſon-in-law Pom-'peianus is old, and a ſtranger. con-'ſider, then, how you ought to treat 'Caſſius and his aſſociates. don't ſpare 'thoſe, who would not, if they were

'victorious, ſpare you, nor me, nor 'our children. I ſhall ſpeedily follow 'you. Fadilla's ſickneſs hindered me 'from meeting you at Formiae.—— 'I ſhall ſend you accounts, if I don't 'overtake you, what Caſſius's wife 'and children, and ſon-in-law, are 'talking about you.'

CASSIUS made all efforts to ſtrengthen his party. he wrote a long letter to Herod, a man of good abilities, who commanded in Greece, and had fallen under Antoninus's diſpleaſure for ſome maladminiſtration, to engage him to join againſt Antoninus. but Herod had ſuch veneration for the Emperor, that before he had read out all Caſſius's letter, he returned him this ſhort anſwer; 'Herod 'to Caſſius. You are mad.'

CASSIUS ſucceeded no better in ſoliciting ſome other provinces to revolt; and began to loſe his credit with the army; and, at laſt, was diſpatched by ſome of them, about three months after his revolt; and his head was ſent to Antoninus, before he left Formiae, or had returned an anſwer to Fauſtina's laſt letter. on this occaſion, he wrote to her thus. 'My dear Fauſtina, 'you ſhew a moſt dutiful concern for 'me, and our children. I have read 'your letters to me at Formiae twice 'over; preſſing me to be ſevere to-'ward the conſpirators with Caſſius; 'but I am reſolved to ſpare his chil-'dren, his ſon-in-law, and his wife, 'and ſhall write to the Senate, that 'they make no rigid proſcription, nor 'any cruel puniſhments. nothing

'can more recommend a Roman
'Emperor to the love of all nations,
'than clemency. 'twas for this vir-
'tue that Caeſar and Auguſtus were
'reputed divinities. this obtained your
'father the title of Pius. had the war
'ended as I would have wiſhed, Caſ-
'ſius himſelf had not died. don't be
'afraid. the Gods protect me. my
'fatherly affection to mankind muſt
'be acceptable to them. I have made
'Pompeianus our ſon-in-law conſul
'for next year.'

SOME thought this clemency too great. one uſed the freedom to aſk him, how he thought Caſſius would have treated him and his family, had he been victorious? he replied, 'I have
'not ſerved the Gods ſo ill, or lived
'in ſuch a manner, that I had reaſon

'to fear the Gods would allow Caſ-
'ſius to conquer me:' and coun-
ted over moſt of the Emperors who
had been dethroned and aſſaſſinated;
ſhewing, that their own tyranny or
folly occaſioned their fate.

OF his letter to the Senate, this part is yet preſerved: 'In gratitude, 'therefore, for my victory, you have 'made my ſon-in-law conſul; whoſe 'years ſeemed long ago to have clai-'med it; had not ſome brave worthy 'perſons intervened, to whom that 'debt was firſt to be paid by the ſtate. 'as to the revolt of Caſſius, I beſeech 'and obteſt you, Fathers, that, laying 'aſide your rigour, you would act 'ſuitably to my clemency, and your 'own. let no Senator be put to death, 'or puniſhed; nor the blood of any

'eminent perſon be ſhed. let the ba-
'niſhed return; and reſtore the eſtates
'of the proſcribed. would to God
'I could recall to life many of the
'dead. I never can like an Emperor's
'reſentment of any injury aimed at
'himſelf. it appears too ſevere, even
'when very juſt. you muſt, there-
'fore, pardon the ſons of Caſſius, his
'ſon-in-law, and his wife. but, why
'ſay I pardon? they have committed
'no crime. let them live ſecure; and
'feel they live under Antoninus. let
'them live on the fortune of the fa-
'mily given up amongſt them: let
'them enjoy their gold and ſilver
'plate, and furniture: let them live in
'wealth, and ſecurity; and at their
'full liberty to ſtay or go as they
'pleaſe; and carry with them, among

'all nations, the marks of my clemency, and of your's. this clemency to the wives and children of the proſcribed, Conſcript fathers, is but a ſmall matter. I muſt requeſt you further: defend all the conſpirators of the Senatorian or Equeſtrian order, from death, proſcription, fear, infamy, popular odium, and all manner of vexation. allow it, for the honour of my government; that, in this caſe of uſurpation, thoſe who were killed in the ſuppreſſing of the tumult, may be deemed juſtly ſlain.'

THIS letter was read with innumerable acclamations and bleſſings. the Emperor buried Caſſius's head decently, expreſſing no ſmall grief for the loſs of ſuch a man. he marched immediately to the Eaſt: ſoon appea-

ſed the revolt, with the greateſt cl
mency; and reformed many abuſe
when he came to Syria, he burned a
the papers of Caſſius without readin
them, to prevent entertaining ſuſp
cions or hatred againſt any. ſome ſa
this had been done by his faithfi
friend Martius Verus, before his a
rival; juſtly preſuming, it would b
pleaſing to the good Emperor; an
ſaying, if it was not, he could willing
ly die, to ſave the lives of ſo many c
his fellow-citizens.

A. D. 176. FAUSTINA died i
this expedition, near mount Tauru
the Senate, out of mean flattery, re
newed their ſeverity againſt the la
conſpirators; thinking it would b
ſome alleviation of the Emperor
ſorrow, to ſhew their zeal for hi

but, upon the firſt notice of it, he wrote the moſt preſſing letter to the Senate, to ſtop theſe proceedings, concluding, 'If I cannot obtain from you the lives 'of all the conſpirators, I ſhall wiſh 'to die.'

CASSIUS's eldeſt ſon Mecianus was killed in his government at Alexandria, on the very day in which Caſſius was killed: his other children were only baniſhed to an iſland; retaining all their eſtates. his daughter, indeed, and ſon-in-law, continued in Rome; and were treated in a friendly manner by Antoninus. the Senate paid extravagant honours to Fauſtina. Antoninus, having ſettled the Eaſt, returned to Rome, after eight years abſence; having extended his liberality to Athens, the old ſeat

of learning, heard Ariſtides the orator at Smyrna, and having been initiated in the Eleuſinian myſteries: on this occaſion he gratified the Romans * with magnificent ſhews, and great liberality to the diſtreſſed.

THE peace of the empire was ſoon diſturbed by new commotions in the North. the Scythians took arms again, and attacked the Emperor's lieutenants. and he, tho' old and infirm, reſolved upon another expedition: nor could his friends of the Senate, who were exceedingly ſolicitous about his life, diſſuade him from it. he ſpent three days in diſcourſing with them, and adviſing them about ſtate affairs; and about the great principles of philoſophy; and then ſet out for

* A. D. 177.

the army. in this expedition, his prudence and valour appeared invariably the ſame,and were always ſucceſsful; tho' the particulars of the wars are not preſerved. but, at Vienna in Auſtria,or at Sirmium,he was ſeized with a diſtemper; which, in a few days, put an end to his glorious life. when he apprehended there was no hope of his recovery, his ſtrength of mind and reſignation to the divine will, made him eaſy, as to his own death; but his affection to his country gave him conſiderable anxiety. tho' his ſon had not diſcloſed his vicious diſpoſitions during his life, yet the examples of Nero and Domitian made him dread that any good inſtructions he had received, or any diſpoſitions of his to virtue, would not be able to

withſtand the temptations he would be expoſed to in that dangerous elevation. he ſaw his Northern conqueſt very unſettled; and other provinces not ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. with all theſe cares oppreſſing him, his ſickneſs and pains recurred more violently the laſt day of his life, and made him aware of his approaching end: upon this, he called for his principal officers, who ſtood around his bed: he preſented to them his ſon; and, exerting all his ſtrength, he ſate up, and ſpoke to this effect.

'I AM not ſurprized that you are 'troubled to ſee me in this condition. 'it is natural to mankind, to be mo- 'ved with any ſufferings of their fel- 'low-creatures; and, when they are 'before our eyes, they excite a deep-

'er compaſſion. but, you are under
'more peculiar tyes to me. from my
'conſciouſneſs of the moſt ſincere af-
'fection to you, I preſume you have
'the like to me. now is the opportu-
'nity, for me to diſcern that the ho-
'nours I have conferred on you, and
'the long ſeries of kind offices done,
'were not employed in vain; and for
'you, to make grateful returns, and
'to ſhew you have not forgot the fa-
'vours you received. you ſee there
'my ſon, who was educated by your
'ſelves, juſt entring into manhood,
'like a ſhip in a ſtormy ſea, needing
'prudent pilots; leſt, being carried a-
'ſide, through want of experience,
'he be intirely ſhipwrecked among
'vices. be you to him, therefore, ſo
'many fathers in my ſtead; always

'watching over him, and giving him
'good counſels: for, no treaſures can
'ſatisfy the luxury of tyrants; nor a-
'ny guards protect them, when they
'have loſt the affections of their peo-
'ple. theſe princes only have had ſafe
'and long reigns, who have infu-
'ſed into the minds of their people,
'not any dread by their cruelty, but
'an hearty love by their goodneſs.
'ſuch alone, as obey with good-will,
'and not from neceſſity, are to be
'confided in, and will obey their
'prince, or ſuffer for him, without
'flattery and diſſimulation; nor will
'ſuch ever rebel, or prove refractory;
'except when they are forced into it
'by inſolent oppreſſion. in unlimited
'power, 'tis hard to ſet proper mea-
'*ſures or* bounds to men's paſſions.

'if you ſuggeſt ſuch thoughts to him, 'and keep him in mind of what he 'now hears, you will make him an 'excellent prince to yourſelves, and 'to all the ſtate, and do the moſt grate-'ful office to my memory; as by this 'alone you can make it immortal.'

AS he was thus ſpeaking, his voice failed, he fell down on the bed, and died next day, in the 59th year of his age. never was there a more univerſal undiſſembled ſorrow, than what enſued among all ranks; who loudly bewailed his death, with all poſſible encomiums of his virtues: all which were no more than his due; and with the deareſt appellations of their good Emperor, their general, their protector, their father, or their brother.

THE only prejudices which can

obſtruct the moſt favourable reception of theſe divine meditations, from the author's character, are theſe two: firſt, his continuing in the Pagan religion; even zealouſly ſacrificing to falſe Gods, deifying his predeceſſor, and admitting the like honours to be paid to Verus and Fauſtina: and, ſecondly, his ſuffering the Chriſtians to be perſecuted, during his reign.

AS to the firſt, tho' no man of ſenſe can vindicate the Heathen worſhip; as it was full of ridiculous ſuperſtitions; without any proper evidence; yet, let us not imagine it worſe in the wiſer Heathens, than it truly was. Maximus Tyrius, and many others, aſſure us, that all wiſe men in the Heathen world, believed only one ſu*preme* God, or, original cauſe, of all.

we ſee that Antoninus, and all the Stoics, agreed in this. but, they alſo believed there were many inferior created ſpirits, to whom, the government of certain parts of nature was delegated by the ſupreme God; that the ſouls of ſome good men were advanced to this dignity; and that honours were to be paid to theſe preſiding ſpirits; according to old traditions and cuſtom. now, this very doctrine generally prevailed, both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Chriſtian churches, for many centuries; even from the 5th to the reformation; without any other difference than that of ſound; the Heathens uſing the words God, or, Daemon, for what Chriſtians called Angels, and Saints; and both often raiſed to this dignity, the ſouls of

perſons, who had very little real virtue. the perſons denoted by theſe names in the Heathen and Chriſtian religions, were, indeed, different. the Heathens worſhipped the old heathen heroes and princes, and the Chriſtians their own heroes and martyrs. nay the proteſtants allow that created beings may have delegated powers from God, and be employed as miniſtring ſpirits to the heirs of ſalvation, in their ſeveral nations; and ſuperintend the civil affairs of them. but, having no particular knowledge who theſe Angels or Saints are, nor how they are employed; nor any evidence that they can know our devotions, our prayers, or expreſſions of gratitude to them; and, ſeeing all ſuch worſhip prohibited in the Holy Scriptures, as it gene-

rally has a bad tendency; they univerſally abſtain from it, and condemn it. but, the moral evil of ſuch practices, in thoſe who have had no prohibitions by revelation, is not ſo great as we commonly apprehend it. ſome men of little conſtancy in their conduct, who have been guilty of ſome very bad actions, have had alſo ſome eminent virtues not univerſally known. nay 'tis probable the vices of Fauſtina were never known to Antoninus; (See B. I. 14.) Verus too had his virtues; and many of his vices have been hid from our author. 'tis a ſmall fault to err on the charitable ſide, about the dead. let us ſhew an impartial candour in this matter; remembring what mixed characters are recorded of ſome *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian authors

whoſe works we read with veneration.

As to the ſecond charge, of perſecuting the Chriſtians: let us remember, that we have no proof of his giving orders for it: we can only charge him with the omiſſion of his duty, in not making a ſtrict inquiry into the cauſe of the Chriſtians: this, tho' a great fault, is leſs than that of the apoſtle Paul, who himſelf perſecuted with great fury; and yet could afterwards truly ſay, he had ſerved God with all good conſcience; that is, ſincerely, according to what he then thought his duty. to extenuate this fault in the Emperor, not to mention his perpetual avocations, by almoſt continual wars, beſide the multitude *of civil* affairs in ſo vaſt an empire, let

us remember, that, whatever better knowledge the inferior magiſtrates might have of the matter of fact, the princes muſt, generally, have had only ſuch views of the Chriſtians as the zealot Pagan prieſts and magiſtrates preſented to them. now, they were repreſented as a confederacy for the moſt monſtrous wickedneſs; ſuch as, the murdering of infants, and feeding on them, all inceſtuous impurities, avowed Atheiſm, the blaſpheming all the Gods; and rebellion againſt the ſtate. this laſt is the common charge, made by all perſecutors, againſt ſuch as differ from the eſtabliſhed orthodoxy: as we ſee in all the defences of the R. catholic perſecutions in France, and the proteſtant perſecutions in England and Scotland; when

the clergy have once perſuaded the legiſlator, impiouſly to invade the prerogatives of God, over the conſciences of men, by penal laws about ſuch religious opinions, and forms of worſhip as are no way hurtful in ſociety.

UNDER theſe impreſſions of the Chriſtians, a prince of great goodneſs might even directly order a perſecution againſt them; not, indeed, without the guilt of a great omiſſion of his duty; ſince he ought to have made a more thorough inquiry into the matter; and his ignorance could ſcarce be wholly invincible. but, his intention might be only the ſuppreſſion of the moſt odious crimes, which he thought chargeable on the Chriſtians.

BUT, grant he had perſecuted the

hriſtians upon their religion
is, their ſeeing the folly of
eathen Gods, and their zeal
orſhip: it muſt make them
m to his character, make them
perfection is the true idea of
naller the difference is between
ligious tenets of the perfecter and
oſe of the perfecter are ſhewn
eater inſufficiency of proof and
re, to be ſo much more inexcuſable for their
nall differences and ſhew their
ſer ſentiments about the
nceive him ſo furious and revengeful
at the ſmaller miſtakes in
worſhip, can exclude us
tirely from his favour and
mpaſſion or mercy. How much
ng their hearty aſſent and

to pleaſe him, as far as they know what is acceptable to him.

NOW, the Chriſtian religion was intirely oppoſite, in every thing almoſt, to the Pagan. it rejected all their popular Gods: nay, the early Chriſtians averred them all to be impure devils, and that their worſhip was inſtituted by ſuch devils; and refuſed any ſort of joint worſhip with them. a devout Heathen, deeply prejudiced by education, in favour of theſe popular Gods, and confirmed by a philoſophy which eſpouſed a good deal of the popular ſuperſtitions, would be under ſtrong temptations from his very devotion, while under theſe miſtakes, to ſuppreſs Chriſtianity: this is a great extenuation of the Emperor's guilt.

BUT, what ſhall we ſay of Chriſtians perſecuting each other, who yet believe in the ſame God, and the ſame Saviour, and own the ſame grand practical rules of life, of loving God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourſelves! let none make this objection to Antoninus, but thoſe, who, from their hearts, abhor all Chriſtian perſecutions, who cannot hate their neighbours, or deem them excluded from the divine favour, either for neglecting certain ceremonies, and pieces of outward pageantry, or for exceeding in them; for different opinions, or forms of words, about ſome metaphyſical attributes or modes of exiſtence, which all ſides own to be quite incomprehenſible by us; for the different opinions about human liber-

ty; about which the beſt men who ever lived have had oppoſite ſentiments: for different opinions about the manner in which the Deity may think fit to exerciſe his mercy to a guilty world, either in pardoning of their ſins, or renewing them in piety and virtue. as for theſe who are conſcious of ſuch ſincere undiſſembled good-will to all, even thoſe whom they think miſtaken in ſuch points; who have no partial attachments to their own parties, from prejudices of education, and their uniting in the ſame cauſe; no vanity or pride exciting any anger at the different opinions of others, oppoſite to what they in their own wiſdom have pronunced ſound and orthodox, and ſo detracting from their ſuperior penetration, and dimi-

niſhing their glory and popularity; thoſe who find the ſimple, peaceful, meek, and humble love of truth alone influencing their ſentiments, and a perpetual love to God, and a calm uniform charity operating in their hearts toward all men, even thoſe who deſpiſe and affront their religious ſentiments; perſons of this character, may with ſome ſhew of decency, reject theſe noble devout ſentiments, on account of the author's having perſecuted, or ſuffered others to perſecute during his reign. but ſuch men will eaſily ſee, that theſe pious and charitable meditations and ſuggeſtions muſt be valuable for their own ſakes, and uſeful to every attentive reader; whatever were the ſins or failings of the author.

'TIS needleſs, I hope, to prevent another ſilly prejudice; as if becauſe the author was not a Chriſtian, he could have no real piety or virtue acceptable to God, none of theſe divine influences, which we are taught are neceſſary to every good work. no doubt, he is not to be defended in his neglecting to examine the evidences of Chriſtianity, or, in not embracing it. but, let men conſider the power of education, and how much he was employed from his very youth, in a conſtant courſe of public buſineſs, which allowed little leiſure. how little probability could there occur to him, that, in a ſect at that time univerſally deſpiſed, and repreſented, not only as weak and illiterate, but moſt *horridly* impious, immoral, and flagi-

tious, he ſhould find any better inſtructions in theories of religion, or any better motives to virtuous actions, than what were among the philoſophers? we ſee with what a juſt contempt of eaſe, pleaſure, and luxury, he keenly embraced the ſcheme of philoſophy moſt remarkable for piety, auſterity, and diſintereſted goodneſs; and how long Chriſtian magiſtrates, ſpirited up by the pretended embaſſadors of the meek Jeſus, have been perſecuting their fellow-Chriſtians with fire and ſword; and that for very honourable tenets; often much better than thoſe of the perſecutors. let this be a warning to all men, againſt raſhly entertaining ill-natured repreſentations of whole ſects or bodies of men. Chriſtians may be aſha-

med to cenſure our author on this account; conſidering how raſhly, arrogantly, and preſumptuouſly, they are curſing one another in their ſynodical anathemas; and in their creeds, pronuncing eternal damnation on all who are not within the pale, or hold not the ſame myſterious tenets or forms of words.

'TIS but a late doctrine in the Chriſtian church, that the grace of God, and all divine influences purifying the heart, were confined to ſuch as knew the Chriſtian hiſtory, and were by profeſſion in the Chriſtian church. the earlieſt Chriſtians and martyrs were of a very different opinion. however, they maintained that it is by the merits of our Saviour alone, *men* can either be juſtified or ſanctifi-

ed; yet they never denyed theſe bleſſings could be conferred on any who knew not the meritorious or efficient cauſe of them. to maintain they could not, is as abſurd as to aſſert, that a phyſician cannot cure a diſeaſe, unleſs the patient be firſt inſtructed in the whole art of medicine, and know particularly the phyſical principles by which the ſeveral medicines operate. nay, the early Chriſtians believed the ſpirit of Chriſt operated in Socrates, Plato, and other virtuous Heathens; and that they were Chriſtians in heart, without the hiſtorical knowledge: and, ſure, we may charitably judge the ſame of this Emperor, who plainly depended on God for ſuch ſanctifying influences; and recommends them as the matter of our moſt earneſt prayers,

and often, with the deepeſt humility and ſimplicity of heart, * acknowledges that he owes to God's preventing grace, in his providence about him, all thoſe virtuous diſpoſitions, in which he had any delight or complacence.

* B. I. 14. B. IX. 40. B. IV. 26. and in many other places.

THE MEDITATIONS OF THE EMPEROR MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.

BOOK I.

1. FROM my grandfather [1] Verus I learned to reliſh the beauty of manners, and to reſtrain all anger. from the fame and character

1 ANNIUS VERUS, who had been *thrice Conſul*, and was made a Senator under Veſpaſian.

my [1] father obtain'd; modeſty, a manly deportment. [2] of my ther; I learned to be religious, an beral; and to guard, not only ag evil actions, but even againſt any intentions entering my thoughts content myſelf with a ſpare diet, different from the ſoftneſs and lu ry ſo common among the weal of my great [3] grandfather; [4] to frequent public ſchools and a tories; but to have good and teachers at home; and for things this nature, to account no expence great.

1 Annius Verus, who died when Antoninus was a child.

2 Domitia Calvilla Lucilla, daughter of Calviſius Tullus, who had been twice *Conſul.*

3 Probably by the ther, *viz.* Catilius Se

4 'Tis not certain ther the negative p ſhould be here or not

2. HE who had the charge of my education, taught me not to be fondly attached to any of the contending parties [1] in the charlot-races, or in the combats of the gladiators. he taught me alſo to endure labour; not to need many things; to ſerve myſelf, without troubling others; not to intermeddle with the affairs of others, and not eaſily to admit of accuſations againſt them.

3. OF Diognetus; not to buſy myſelf about vain things, not to credit the great profeſſions of ſuch as pretend to work wonders, or of ſorcerers, about their charms, and their expelling Demons; and the like. not

1 The keenneſs of theſe contentions among the Romans in that age, is abundantly known.

to keep [1] Quails, nor to be kee
ſuch things; to allow others all
dom in converſation; and to a
myſelf heartily to philoſophy.
alſo I muſt thank, for my hearing
Bacchius, then Tandaſis, and M
anus; that I wrote dialogues in
youth, and took a liking to the
loſopher's little couch and ſkins,
ſuch other things, which by the
cian diſcipline belong to that pr
ſion.

4. TO Ruſticus I owe my firſ
prehenſions, that my temper ne
redreſs and cure, and that I did
fall into the ambition of the com
Sophiſts, either in writing upon
ſciences, or exhorting men to pl
ſophy by public harangues; as

1 For fighting, or incantations.

iat I never affected to be admired by
ſtentation of great patience in an af-
ɛtic life, or of activity and applicati-
n; and that I gave over the ſtudy of
ıetoric, poetry, and the elegance of
nguage; that I did not affect any airs
f grandeur, by walking at home in
ıy ſenatorial robe, or by any ſuch
ıings. I obſerved alſo the ſimplicity
f ſtyle in his letters, particularly in
ıat, which he wrote to my mother
rom Sinueſſa. I learned alſo from him
n eaſineſs and proneneſs to be re-
onciled and well pleaſed again with
hoſe who had offended me, as ſoon
s any of them inclined to be recon-
iled; to read with diligence; not to
eſt ſatisfied with a light and ſuperfi-
ial knowledge; nor quickly to aſ-
ent to great talkers: him alſo I muſt

thank, that I met with the diſcourſes of Epictetus which he gave me.

5. FROM Apollonius I learned true liberty, and invariable ſtedfaſtneſs; and to regard nothing elſe, not even in the ſmalleſt degree, but right and reaſon; and always to remain the ſame man, whether in the ſharpeſt pains, or after the loſs of a child, or in long diſeaſes. to him I owe my ſeeing in a living example, that it was poſſible for the ſame man to be both vehement and remiſs, as occaſion requir'd. I learn'd of him, not to fret when my reaſonings were not apprehended. in him I ſaw an inſtance of a man, who eſteem'd his excellent ſkill and ability in teaching others the principles of philoſophy, the leaſt of all his endowments. of him alſo I

learned how to receive from friends, what are thought favours, ſo as neither to be on that account ſubjected to them, nor yet ſeem inſenſible and ungrateful.

6. FROM Sextus a pattern of a benign temper, and of a family, governed with true paternal affection and a ſtedfaſt purpoſe of living according to nature; to be grave and venerable, without affectation; to obſerve ſagaciouſly the ſeveral diſpoſitions and inclinations of my friends; not to be offended with the ignorant, or with thoſe who follow the vulgar opinions without examination: his converſation was an example, how a man may accommodate himſelf to all men and companies; for tho' his company was ſweeter, and more pleaſing than any

ſort of flattery, yet he was at the ſame time highly reſpected and reverenced. no man was ever more happy than he in comprehending, finding out, and arranging in exact order, the great maxims neceſſary for the conduct of life. he taught me by his example, to ſuppreſs even the leaſt appearance of anger, or any other paſſion; but ſtill, notwithſtanding this perfect tranquillity, to poſſeſs the tendereſt and moſt affectionate heart; and to be apt to approve and applaud others, and yet without noiſe: to deſire much literature, without oſtentation.

7. FROM Alexander the critic, to avoid cenſuring others, or flouting at them for a barbariſm, ſoleciſm, or *any* falſe pronuntiation; but dextrouſ-

ly to pronounce the words as they ought, in my anſwering, approving, or arguing the matter, without taking direct notice of the miſtake; or by ſome other ſuch courteous inſinuation.

8. FROM Fronto; to be ſenſible, how much envy, deceit, and hypocriſy, ſurrounds princes; and that generally thoſe we account nobly born, have ſome how leſs natural affection.

9. OF Alexander the Platoniſt; not often, nor without great neceſſity, to ſay, or write to any man in a letter, that I am not at leiſure, nor thus under pretext of urgent affairs, to decline or defer the duties, which, according to our various ties, we owe to thoſe among whom we live.

10. OF Catulus; not to contemn

any friend's expoſtulation, tho' injuſt; but to ſtrive to reduce him to his former diſpoſition: freely and heartily to ſpeak well of all my maſters, upon any occaſion, as it is reported of [1] Domitius, and Athenodotus; and to love my children with true affection.

II. FROM my brother [2] Severus, to love my kinſmen, and to love truth and juſtice. to him I owe my acquaintance with [3] Thraſeas, Helvidius, Cato, Dion, and Brutus. he gave me alſo the firſt conception of a republic, founded upon equitable

1 There are no other memorials of theſe two perſons.

2 This either the philoſopher Claudius Severus, whom he calls his brother from his ſtrong love to him, or ſome couſin whoſe memory is not otherways preſerved to us.

3 Theſe were eminent characters, in the two preceding ages.

laws, and adminiſtred with equality of right; and of a monarchic government, which chiefly regards the liberty of the ſubjects. of him I learned likewiſe, to maintain a conſtant, diſengaged, and uninterrupted ſtudy and eſteem of philoſophy; to be bountiful and liberal in the largeſt meaſure; always to hope the beſt; and to be unſuſpicious about the affections of my friends. I obſerved in him a candid openneſs in declaring what he diſliked in the conduct of others; and that his friends might eaſily ſee, without the trouble of conjectures, what he liked or diſliked; ſo open and plain was his behaviour.

12. FROM Claudius Maximus; in all things to have power over myſelf, and in nothing to be hurried away by

any paſſion: to be chearful and courragious in all ſudden accidents, as in ſickneſſes to have an eaſy command of my own temper; to maintain a kind, ſweet, and yet grave deportment; to execute my deſigns vigorouſly without freting, whatever he ſaid, all men believed, he ſpake, as he thought; and that whatever he did, it was with a good intent. he taught me, not to be eaſily aſtoniſhed or confounded with any thing, never to ſeem in a hurry, nor yet to be dilatory, or perplexed, without preſence of mind, or dejected, fretful, angry, or ſuſpicious; and to be ready to do good to others, to forgive, and to ſpeak truth; and in all this, to appear rather like one who had always been ſtraight and right, than ever rectified or redreſſed; nor

was there any, who thought himſelf undervalued by him, or who could find in his heart to think himſelf a better man than him: nor did he ever affect the praiſe of being witty.

13. [1] FROM my father I learned meekneſs, and conſtancy, without wavering in thoſe things, which after a due examination and deliberation were determined; to be little ſolicitous about the common honours; patience of labour, and aſſiduity, and readineſs to hear any man, who offered any thing tending to the common good; an inflexible juſtice toward all men; a juſt apprehenſion when rigour and extremity, or when remiſſneſs and moderation were in ſeaſon; abſtinence from all impure luſts: and a

1 Antoninus Pius, his father by adoption.

ſenſe of humanity toward others. thus
he left his friends at liberty, to ſup
with him or not, to go abroad with
him or not, as they inclined; and they
ſtill found him the ſame, after their
affairs had hindered them to attend
him. I learned of him accuracy and
patience of inquiry in all deliberation
and counſel. he never quitted the
ſearch, ſatisfied with the firſt appea-
rances. I obſerved his zeal to retain
his friends, without cloying them, or
ſhewing any fooliſh fondneſs; his
contentment in every condition; his
chearfulneſs; his fore-thought about
very diſtant events; his exact care even
about ſmall matters, without noiſe
how he reſtrained all acclamation
and flattery: how vigilantly he obſer-
ved all things neceſſary to the govern-

ment, and managed accurately the public revenue, and bore patiently the cenſures of others about theſe things: how he was neither a ſuperſtitious worſhipper of the Gods, nor an ambitious pleaſer of men, nor ſtudious of popularity; but ſober in all things, ſtedfaſt, well-ſkilled in what was honourable, never affecting novelties. as to theſe things which are ſubſervient to eaſe and conveniency, of which his fortune ſupplied him with great affluence; he uſed them without pride, and yet with all freedom; enjoyed them without affectation when they were preſent; and when abſent, he found no want of them. he was not celebrated, either as a learned acute man, or one of a ſharp wit, or as a great declaimer; but a wiſe, experienced, com-

plete man; one who could not bear to be flattered; able to govern both himſelf and others; I further obſerved the great honour he paid to all true philoſophers, without upbraiding thoſe who were not ſo; his ſociableneſs, his gracious and delightful converſation, without cloying. his regular moderate care of his body, neither like one deſirous of long life, or over ſtudious of neatneſs, and elegancy; and yet not as one who deſpiſed it: thus, through his own care, he ſeldom needed any internal medicines, or outward applications: but eſpecially how ingenuouſly he would yield without envy, to any who had obtained any peculiar faculty, as either eloquence, or the knowledge of the laws, or of ancient cuſtoms, or the like; and how

he concurred with them ſtrenuouſly, that every one of them might be regarded and eſteemed, for that in which he excelled; and altho' he obſerved carefully the ancient cuſtoms of his fore-fathers, yet it was without oſtentation. again, how he was not fickle and capricious, but loved to continue both in the ſame places and buſineſſes; and how after his violent fits of the head-ach, he returned freſh and vigorous to his wonted affairs. again, that he neither had many ſecrets, nor often; and ſuch only as concerned public matters: his diſcretion and moderation, in exhibiting of ſhows for the entertainment of the people, in public buildings, largeſſes, and the like. in all theſe things he acted like one who regarded only what was

right and becoming in the things themſelves, and not the applauſes which might follow. he never bathed at unſeaſonable hours; had no vanity in building; was never ſolicitous, either about his meat, or about the nice workmanſhip or colour of his cloaths, or about the beauty of his ſervants. his apparel was plain and homely, ſuch as that he choſe to wear at Lorium, cloath made at Lunuvium; and at Tuſculum, he wore a ſhort cloak, ſometimes making apologies for the plainneſs of his dreſs. his converſation was far from any inhumanity; or incivility, or impetuoſity; never doing any thing with ſuch keenneſs that one could ſay [1] he was ſweating about it; but on the contrary, in all things,

1 This was a proverbial expreſſion.

he acted diſtinctly, as at leiſure, without confuſion, regularly, reſolutely, and gracefully. a man might have applied that to him which is recorded of Socrates, that he knew both how to abſtain from or enjoy thoſe things, in want whereof moſt men ſhew themſelves weak; and in the fruition, intemperate: he remained firm and conſtant in both events, with a juſt ſelf-government, and ſhewed a perfect and invincible ſoul; ſuch as appeared in him during the ſickneſs of Maximus.

14. TO the Gods I owe my having good grand-fathers, and parents, a good ſiſter, good maſters, good domeſticks, affectionate kinſmen, and friends, and almoſt all things good: and that I never thro' haſte and raſhneſs offended any of them; tho' I had

ſuch a temper as might have led me to it, had occaſion offer'd; but by the goodneſs of the Gods, no ſuch concurrence of circumſtances happen'd as could diſcover my weakneſs: that I was not long brought up with my father's concubine; that I retained my modeſty, and refrained from all venereal enjoyments, even longer than was neceſſary; that I lived under the government of ſuch a prince and father, who took away from me all pride and vain-glory, and convinced me, that it was not impoſſible for a prince to live in a court, without guards, extraordinary apparel, torches, ſtatues, or ſuch pieces of ſtate and magnificence; but that he may reduce himſelf almoſt to the ſtate of a private man, and yet not become more

mean or remiſs in thoſe publick affairs, wherein power and authority are requiſite. that I have had a brother[1], as by his diſpoſition might ſtir me up to take care of myſelf: and yet by his reſpect and love deſigned me; that my children wanted not good natural diſpoſitions, nor were diſtorted or deformed in body: that I was no great proficient in the ſtudies of rhetoric and poetry, and in other faculties, which might have engroſſed my mind, had I found myſelf ſucceſsful in them; that I prevented the expectations of thoſe, by whom I was brought up, in promoting them to the places and dignities, they ſeem'd moſt

[1] Probably Verus, whoſe vicious paſſions might rouſe this excellent man's attention to himſelf, or perhaps Antoninus did not know his vices for a great part of his life, and the verſion I use had a great character for honeſty, and was a man of ſimplicity.

to deſire; that I did not put them
in the common way, with h
and excuſes that ſince they were
young I would do it hereafter. I
to the Gods that ever I knew A
lonius, Ruſticus and Maximus;
I have had occaſion often and e
tually to meditate with myſelf an
quire what is truly the life accor
to nature; ſo that, as for the G
and ſuch ſuggeſtions, helps and i
rations, as might be expected f
them, I might have already attai
to that life which is according to
ture; and it was my own fault th
did not ſooner, by not obſerving
inward motions and ſuggeſtions,
and almoſt plain and apparent inſt
tions of the Gods; that my body
ſuch a life, hath been able to hold

ſo long; that I never had to do with Benedicta and Theodotus, yea, and afterwards, when I fell into ſome fooliſh paſſions, that I was ſoon cured; that, having been often diſpleaſed with Ruſticus, I never did any thing to him, for which afterwards I had occaſion to repent: that ſince it was my mother's fate to die young, ſhe lived with me all her latter years: that as often as I inclined to ſuccour any who were either poor, or fallen into ſome diſtreſs, I was never anſwered by the managers of my revenues that there was not ready money enough to do it; and that I myſelf never had occaſion for the like ſuccour from any other; that I have ſuch a wife, ſo obedient,

1 Theſe two perſons are unknown, 'tis poſſible they have been remarkably dangerous to the youth at court.

ſo loving, ſo ingenuous; that I h
choice of fit and able men, to wh
I might commit the education of
children; that by dreams I have
ceived divine aids,as,for other thin
ſo,in particular,how I might ſtay
ſpitting of blood, and cure my ve
go,which happen'd ſucceſsfully to
at Cajeta; and, that, when I firſt
plied myſelf to philoſophy, I did
fall into the hands of ſome ſoph
nor ſpent my time in reading ma
volumes, nor embarraſſed myſelf
the ſolution of ſophiſms, nor dw
upon the ſtudy of the meteors.
theſe things could not have thus c
curred, without the aſſiſtance of
Gods and [1] fortune.

THESE things in the country
the Quadi near Granua.

1 See, B. II. art. 3.

BOOK II.

SAY thus to thyſelf every morning: to day I may have to do with ſome intermeddler in other mens affairs, with an ungrateful man; an inſolent, or a crafty, or an envious, or an unſociable ſelfiſh man. theſe bad qualities have befallen them through their ignorance of what things are truly good or evil. but I have fully comprehended the nature of good as[1], only what is beautiful and honourable; and of evil, that it is always deformed and ſhameful; and the nature of thoſe perſons too [2] who miſtake

1 This, according to the high ſtyle of the Stoics, that virtuous affections and actions are the ſole good, and the contrary the ſole evil.

2 This is the meek ſentiment of Socrates, that as all error is involuntary, ſo no

their aim; that they are my kinſmen, by partaking, not of the ſame blood or ſeed, but of the ſame [1] intelligent divine part; and that I cannot be hurt by any of them, ſince none of them can involve me in any thing diſhonourable or deformed. I cannot be angry at my kinſmen, or hate them. We were formed by nature for mutual aſſiſtance, as the two feet, the hands, the eye-lids, the upper and lower rows of teeth. oppoſition to each other is contrary to nature: all anger and averſion is an oppoſition.

2. WHATSOEVER I am, is either this [2] poor fleſh, or the animal ſpirit, or

man is willingly unjuſt or wicked in his actions: ſince all deſire truth and goodneſs.

1 The Stoics ſpoke of the rational ſoul, as a part of the divinity, taken from that infinite intelligent aetherial nature, which pervades and ſurrounds all things.

2 The apoſtle Paul al-

the governing part. quit your books: be no longer diſtracted with different views. you have it in your own power. as one who is ſhortly to die, deſpiſe this fleſhly part, this putrifying blood, and bones, and the net-work texture of nerves, veins, arteries. conſider the nature of mere animal ſpirit or life, air, and that always changing, breathed forth and drawn in again. the third part is that which governs. think thus: you are now old; ſuffer not that noble part to be enſlaved, or moved about by unſociable paſſions, with-

luſtre to this notion in praying that we may be ſanctified in ſoul, ſpirit, and body: many ancients conceived in men two principles diſtinct from the body, one the animal ſoul or life, like that in beaſts, the other the rational, like the divinities or angels. in the former, which they ſuppoſed to be air, they placed all the ſenſations and paſſions. ſee B. III. art. 16.

1 A metaphor from puppets, mov'd by others. ſuch are men when led by their paſſions againſt what their higher faculties incline to and recommend.

out its own approbation. repine no more at what now befalls you according to fate, nor dread what may befall you hereafter.

3. WHATEVER the Gods ordain, is full of wiſe providence. what we aſcribe to fortune, happens not without a preſiding nature, nor without a connexion and intertexture with the things ordered by providence. thence all things flow. conſider, too, the neceſſity of theſe events; and their utility to that whole univerſe of which you are a part. in every regular ſtructure, that muſt always be good to a part, which the nature of the whole requires, and which tends to preſerve it. now, the univerſe is preſerved, as, by the [1] changes of the Elements, ſo,

1 The Stoics ſuppoſed | that aether condenſed, pro-

by the changes of the complex forms. let theſe thoughts ſuffice; let them be your maxims, laying aſide that thirſt after multitudes of books; that you may die without repining, meek, and well ſatisfied, and ſincerely grateful to the Gods.

4. REMEMBER how long you have put off theſe things; and how often you have neglected to uſe the opportunities offered you by the Gods. it is high time to underſtand what ſort of whole you are a part of; and who that Preſident in the univerſe is, from whom you flowed, as a ſmall ſtream from a great fountain. there is a certain time appointed for you, which,

duced air, air condenſed became water, and water thus too became earth: that earth was rarified into water; water into air, and air into aether. and theſe changes were always going on in the univerſe.

if you don't employ in making all calm and ſerene within you, it will paſs away, and you along with it; and never more return.

5. LET this be your ſtedfaſt purpoſe to act continually, in all affairs, as becomes a Roman, and a man, with true unaffected dignity, kindneſs of heart, freedom, and juſtice; and diſentangle your ſoul from other ſolicitudes. you ſhall thus diſentangle yourſelf, if you perform each action as if it were your laſt; without temerity, or any paſſionate averſion to what reaſon approves; without hypocriſy or ſelfiſhneſs, or freting at what providence appoints. you ſee how few theſe maxims are, to which, whoever adheres, may live a proſperous and divine life, if a man obſerve theſe

things, the Gods require no more of him.

6. GO on, go on, O my ſoul! to affront and diſhonour thyſelf! yet a little while, and the time to honour thyſelf ſhall be gone. each man's life is flying away, and thine is almoſt gone, before thou haſt paid † juſt honour to thyſelf; having hitherto made thy happineſs dependent on the minds and opinions of others.

† 'Tis one of the moſt ancient maxims or precepts, 'Reverence or ſtand in awe 'of thyſelf' which is the moſt remote from any encouraging of pride or vanity. it means, that men, conſcious of the dignity of their nature, and of that temper of ſoul, and courſe of action which they muſt approve, ſhould continually endeavour to behave ſuitably to their dignity, in preſerving that temper, and practiſing ſuch actions, with a ſincere ſimple view to anſwer the end for which God created them, with ſuch dignity and ſuch endowments; and be aſhamed to act unſuitably to them. now, to be influenced by views of glory from men, is what Antoninus here reckons among the diſhonours or affronts done to ourſelves. ſee, art. 16. of this Book. and B. III. art. 6. and others.

7. LET nothing which befalls thee from without diſtract thee; and take leiſure to thyſelf, to learn ſomething truly good. wander no more to and fro; and guard alſo againſt this other wandering. for there are ſome too who trifle away their activity, by wearying themſelves in life, without having a ſettled ſcope or mark, to which they may direct all their deſires and all their projects.

8. SELDOM are any found unhappy for not obſerving the motions and intentions in the ſouls of others. but ſuch as obſerve not well the motions of their own ſouls, or their affections, muſt neceſſarily be unhappy.

9. REMEMBER theſe things always: what the nature of the univerſe is: what thine own nature: and how

related to the univerſe: what ſort of part thou art, and of what ſort of whole: and that no man can hinder thee to act and ſpeak what is agreeable to that whole, of which thou art a part.

10. THEOPHRASTUS, as becomes a philoſopher, ſays juſtly, that in comparing crimes together, [1] (for in a popular ſtyle they may be compared) theſe are greater, which men are incited to, by luſt, or deſire of pleaſure, than thoſe which flow from anger. for the angry man ſeems to be turned from right reaſon, by a ſort of pain and contraction ſeizing him unawares. but he who ſins from luſt, conquer'd by pleaſure, ſeems more

1 It was one of the paradoxes of the Stoics, that all crimes were equal, and ſo no occaſion for compariſons.

diſſolute, weak, and effeminate in his vices. he ſays juſtly, and as becomes the dignity of a philoſopher, that the crime committed for pleaſure, deſerves an higher cenſure, than that committed from the impulſe of pain. one in the latter caſe ſeems like a perſon who is forced into anger by injuries firſt received; but one in the former, like him who firſt injures another, at the inſtigation of ſome luſt of pleaſure.

II. UNDERTAKE each action as one aware he may next moment depart out of life. to depart from men, if there be really Gods, can have nothing terrible in it. the Gods will involve you in no evil. if there are no Gods, or, if they have no regard to human affairs, why ſhould I deſire to *live* in a world without Gods, and

without providence? but Gods there are, undoubtedly, and they regard human affairs; and have put it wholly in our power, that we ſhould not fall into what is [1] truly evil. were there any real evil in other things, they would have alſo put it in the power of man to have avoided them altogether. but how can that which makes not one a worſe man, be ſaid to make a man's life worſe? and it could neither be from any ignorance, or want of power, to prevent or rectify them, when it knew them, that the nature preſiding in the whole has overlooked ſuch things. we cannot aſcribe ſuch groſs miſconduct to it, either from want of power, or want of ſkill, as that good and evil ſhould

1 That is, moral evil, or, vice.

happen confuſedly and promiſcuouſly, both to good and bad men. now, death and life, glory and reproach, pain and pleaſure, riches and poverty, all theſe happen promiſcuouſly to the good and bad. but as they are neither honourable nor ſhameful, they are therefore neither good nor evil.

12. 'TIS the office of our rational power, to apprehend how ſwiftly all things vaniſh. how the corporeal forms, are ſwallowed up in the material World, and the memory of them in the tide of ages. ſuch are all ſenſible things, eſpecially thoſe which enſnare us by pleaſure, or terrify us by pain, or are celebrated with ſuch vanity. how mean, how deſpicable, how ſordid, how periſhable, how dead are they! what ſort of creatures are they,

hoſe voices beſtow renown? what it to die? would one conſider it a-ıne, and by cloſe thought ſtrip it of ıoſe horrible maſks with which it is reſſed, would he not ſee it to be a ork of nature, and nothing elſe? he ıuſt be a child, who dreads what is atural. nay, it is not only a work of ature, but uſeful to nature. our ra-onal power ſhould apprehend, too, ow a man is related to God, and by hat part; and in what ſtate this part ıall be, when it returns to him again.

13. NOTHING is more miſerable, ays one, than he who ranges over all hings, and dives even into things be-ow the earth, and ſtrives by conjec-ures to diſcover what is in the ſouls f others around him, and yet is not ınſible of this, that 'tis ſufficient for

a man to dwell and converſe wi
that [1] divinity which is within hi
and pay it the genuine worſhip.
is then worſhipped and honoure
when it is kept pure from every p
ſion, and folly, and from repining
any thing done by Gods or me
whatever is done by the Gods, is v
nerable for its excellence. what flo
from men, we ſhould entertain wi
love, ſince they are our kinſmen; c
ſometimes, with pity, as proceedi
from their ignorance of good and
vil. they are not leſs pityably maim
by this defect, this blindneſs, than t
that which hinders them to diſti
guiſh between black and white.

1 Thus the Stoics call the rational ſoul, the ſeat of knowledge and virtue: deeming it a part of the divini- ty, ever pervaded, attract and inſpired by it to all r ral good, when the lo paſſions are reſtrained.

14. IF thou ſhouldſt live three thouſand years, or as many myriads, yet remember this, that no man loſes any other life than that he now lives; and that he now lives no other life than what he is parting with, every inſtant. the longeſt life, and the ſhorteſt, come to one effect: ſince the preſent time is equal to all, what is loſt or parted with is equal to all: and for the ſame reaſon, what is parted with, is only a moment. no man at death parts with, or, is deprived of, what is either paſt or future. for how can one take from a man what he hath not? we ſhould alſo remember theſe things, firſt, that all things which have happened in the continued revolutions

1 The firſt ſentiment in this paragraph, is too ſubtile and frigid.

from eternity, are of the ſar
with what we behold: and 't
tle conſequence, whether a
holds the ſame things for an
years, or an infinite duration
that the longeſt and the ſhor
have an equal loſs at death.
ſent moment is all which
deprived of, ſince that is all
a man cannot part with wha
not.

15. ALL depends upon o
as the ſayings of Monimus m
dent. the uſefulneſs of his ſay
pear, if one attend to his pleaſ
as far as truth confirms them

16. THE ſoul affronts itſe
it becomes, as far as it can, an
or wen in the univerſe. freting
happens, is making itſelf an

from that nature, which contains all other parts. again, when it has averſion to any man, and oppoſes him with intention to hurt him, as wrathful men do. and thirdly, it affronts itſelf, when conquered by pleaſure or pain. fourthly, when it does or ſays any thing hypocritically, feignedly, or falſly. fifthly, when it does not direct to ſome proper end all its deſires and actions, but exerts them inconſiderately, without underſtanding. whereas, even the ſmalleſt things ſhould be referred to the end. now, the end of rational beings ſhould be this, to follow the [1] reaſon and law

1 By this country or ſtate is underſtood the univerſe governed by God. the end therefore is acting the part God has appointed to us by the conſtitution of our nature.

of their moſt ancient and venerabl
city or country.

17. THE duration of human lif
is a point; its ſubſtance perpetuall
flowing; the ſenſes obſcure; and th
compound body tending to putrefac
tion: the ſoul is reſtleſs, fortune un
certain, and fame injudicious. to ſum
up all, the body, and all things related
to it, are like a river; what belongs to
the animal life, is a dream, and ſmoak;
life a warfare, and a journey in a
ſtrange land; ſurviving fame is but o-
blivion. what is it then, which can
conduct us honourably out of life,
and accompany us in our future pro-
greſs? Philoſophy alone. and this con-
ſiſts in preſerving the divinity within
us free from all affronts and injuries,
ſuperior to pleaſure and pain, doing

nothing either inconſiderately, or inſincerely and hypocritically; independent on what others may do or not do: embracing chearfully whatever befalls or is appointed, as coming from him, from whom itſelf was derived; and, above all, expecting death with calm ſatisfaction, as conceiving it to be only a diſſolution of theſe elements, of which every animal is compounded. and if no harm befalls the elements when each is [1] changed into the other, why ſhould one ſuſpect any harm in the changes and [2] diſſolution of them all? it is natural, and nothing natural can be evil. this at Carnuntum.

1 Earth to water, water to air, air to fire, and ſo backwards.

2 Perhaps he intends the univerſal deſtruction of this world. See X. 7.

BOOK III.

1. ONE ought to conſider, not ly that, each day, a part of life is ſpent, and the remainder gro leſs, but that it is very uncertain, t he ſhould live longer, whether his derſtanding ſhall continue equ ſufficient for his buſineſs, and thoſe theories which make one ſ led in things divine and human. if one begin to dote in theſe things may, perhaps, continue to breath receive nouriſhment, to have vai maginations, and exert the low ap tites; but the true power of governi himſelf, of performing complet the duties of life, of conſidering tinctly all appearances which ſtr

the imagination, and of judging well this very point, whether he ſhould depart from life or not, and all other powers which require a well exerciſed vigorous underſtanding, muſt be intirely extinguiſhed in him. we ſhould, therefore, make haſte, not only becauſe death is every day ſo much nearer, but becauſe the power of conſidering well and underſtanding things, often leaves us before death.

2. THIS alſo ſhould be obſerved, that ſuch things as enſue upon what is well conſtituted by nature, have alſo ſomething graceful and attractive. thus, ſome parts of a well baked loaf will crack and become rugged. what is thus cleft beyond the deſign of the baker, looks well, and invites the appetite. ſo when figs are at the ripeſt,

they begin to crack. thus in full ripe olives, their approach to putrefaction gives the proper beauty to the fruit. thus, the laden'd ear of corn hanging down, the ſtern brow of the lyon, and the foam flowing from the mouth of the wild boar, and many other things, conſidered apart, have nothing comely; yet becauſe of their connexion with things natural, they adorn them, and delight the ſpectator. thus, to one who has a deep affection of ſoul, and penetration into the conſtitution of the whole, ſcarce any thing connected with nature will fail to recommend itſelf agreeably to him. thus, the real vaſt jaws of ſavage beaſts will pleaſe him, no leſs than the imitations of them by painters or ſtatuaries. with like pleaſure will his chaſte

eyes behold the maturity and grace of old age in man or woman, and the inviting charms of youth. many ſuch things will he experience, not credible to all, but only to thoſe who have the genuine affection of ſoul toward nature and its works.

3. HIPPOCRATES after conquering many diſeaſes, yielded to a diſeaſe at laſt. the Chaldeans foretold the fatal hours of multitudes, and fate afterwards carried themſelves away. Alexander, Pompey, and Caius Caeſar, who ſo often razed whole cities, and cut off in battle ſo many myriads of horſe and foot, at laſt departed from this life themſelves. Heraclitus, who wrote ſo much about the conflagration of the univerſe, died ſwollen with water, and bedaubed with ox-dung.

vermin deſtroyed Democritus, [the inventor of the atomical philoſophy:] and another ſort of vermin deſtroyed Socrates. to what purpoſe all this? you have gone aboard, made your voyage, arrived to your port, go aſhore. if into another life and world, the Gods are alſo there: if into a ſtate of inſenſibility; at leaſt you ſhall be no longer diſturbed by ſenſual pleaſure or pain, or be in ſlavery to this mean corporeal veſſel. is not the ſoul, which is often enſlaved to it, much more excellent than the body? the ſoul is intelligence and deity. the body, earth, and putrifying blood.

4. SPEND not the remainder of your life in conjectures about others, except where it is ſubſervient to ſome public intereſt: conjecturing what ſuch

one is [illegible]
nat he [illegible]
nat he is [illegible]
is attention to the affairs of others.
kes one wander from his own ne-
eds, the guarding of his own soul.
: ought therefore to exclude from
e series of our thoughts whatever
superfluous or vain: and much more
ery thing intermeddling and ill-na-
red; and enure ourselves to think
n such things as, if we were of a
dden examined, what are we now
using upon, we could freely answer,
ch or such matters: so that all with-
might appear simple and good-na-
ured, such as becomes a social being,
ho despises pleasure, and all sensual
njoyment, and is free from emula-
on, envy, suspicion, or any other pal-

ſion that we would bluſh to own we were now indulging in our minds. a man thus diſpoſed wants nothing to entitle him to the higheſt dignity, of a prieſt and fellow-worker with the Gods, who rightly employs the divinity within him; which can make the man undefiled by pleaſure, invincible by pain, inacceſſible to reproach, or any injuries from others: a victorious champion in the nobleſt contention, that againſt the paſſions: deeply tinctured with juſtice; embracing with all his heart whatever befalls, or is appointed by providence. ſeldom ſolicitous, and that not without ſome generous public view, what another ſays, does, or intends: ſolely intent on his own conduct, and thinking continually on what is appointed to him

ıy the governor of the univerſe. ma-
:ing his own conduct beautiful and
ıonourable; and perſuaded that what
ıovidence orders is good. for, each
ıne's lot is brought upon him by pro-
idence, and is advantageous to him.
emember, that, whatever is rational,
s a-kin to thee, and that it ſuits hu-
nan nature to take care of every thing
ıuman. nor ought we to deſire glory
rom all, but only from thoſe who
ive agreeably to nature. for others;
ill remember, how they live at home,
ıow abroad, how in the dark, how in
he light, and with what a wretched
naſs they are blended. thus, one
von't value the praiſe of ſuch men,
or they cannot pleaſe or applaud
hemſelves.

5. DO nothing with reluctance, or

forgetting the [1] kind ſocial bond, or without full inquiry, or hurried into it by any paſſion. ſeek not to ſet off your thoughts with ſtudied elegance. be neither a great talker, nor undertaker of many things. and let the God within thee find he rules a man of courage, an aged man, a good citizen, a Roman, who regulates his life, as waiting for the ſignal to retreat out of it, without reluctance at his diſſolution; who needs not for a bond of obedience, either the tie of an oath, or the obſervation of others. join alſo a chearful countenance, an independence on the ſervices of others, a mind which needs not retirement

1 The Stoics always maintained, that by the very conſtitution of our nature, all men are recommended to the affectionate goodwill of all: which would always appear, were it not for the interfering of falſly imagined intereſts.

from the world, to obtain tranquillity; but can maintain it without the aſſiſtance of others. one ſhould rather appear to have been always ſtraight and right, and not as amended or rectified.

6. IF you can find any thing in human life better than juſtice, truth, temperance, fortitude; or, to ſum up all, than to have your mind perfectly ſatisfied with what actions you are engaged in by right reaſon, and what providence orders independently of your choice: if you find any thing better, I ſay, turn to it with all your ſoul, and enjoy the noble diſcovery. but if nothing appears more excellent than the divinity ſeated within you, when it hath ſubjected to its ſelf all its paſſions, examined all appearances

which may excite them, and, as Socrates expreſſes it, has torn itſelf off from the attachments to ſenſe; has ſubjected itſelf to the Gods; and has an affectionate care of mankind: if you find all things mean and deſpicable in compariſon with this, give place to nothing elſe: for, if you once give way, and lean towards any thing elſe, you will not be able, without diſtraction of mind, to preſerve the preference of eſteem and honour to your own proper and true good. for it is againſt the law of juſtice, that any thing of a different kind withſtand the proper good of the rational and ſocial nature; ſuch as the views of popular applauſe, power, riches, or ſenſual enjoyments. all theſe things, if we allow them even for a little to

appear ſuitable to our nature, immediately become our maſters and hurry us away. but do you I ſay, with liberty, and ſimplicity of heart, chuſe what is moſt excellent, and hold to it reſolutely. what is moſt excellent is moſt advantageous. if ſo to the rational nature, retain it; but if only to the animal, renounce it. and preſerve the judging power unbyaſſed by external appearances, that it may make a juſt and impartial inquiry.

7. NEVER value that as advantageous, which may force you to break your faith; to quit your modeſty, or ſenſe of honour; to hate, ſuſpect, or imprecate evil on any one; to diſſemble; or to deſire any of theſe things which need walls or curtains to conceal them. he who to all things pre-

fers the ſoul, the divinity within him, and the ſacred myſteries of its virtues, makes no tragical exclamations, complaints, or groans. he needs neither ſolitude nor a croud; and, what is greateſt of all, he lives without either deſires or fears of death. and whether the ſoul ſhall uſe this ſurrounding body, for a longer or ſhorter ſpace, gives him no ſolicitude. were he to depart this moment, he is as ready for it, as for any other work, which can be gracefully, and with honour, accompliſhed; guarding in the whole of life againſt this alone, that his ſoul ſhould ever decline, or be averſe to any thing which becomes the rational and ſocial nature.

8. IN the well-diſciplined and purified mind you will find nothing pu-

trid, impure, or unſound. fate can never ſurpriſe his life unfiniſh'd, as one ſays of a tragedian who goes off before he ends his part: you will find nothing ſervile or oſtentatious, or ſubjected to others by any partial bond; nor yet broken off from them, by any hatred; nothing which needs correction or concealment.

9. CULTIVATE with all care that power which forms opinions: all depends on this, that no opinion thy ſoul entertains, be inconſiſtent with the nature and conſtitution of the rational animals. our natural conſtitution and furniture is intended to ſecure us from falſe and raſh aſſent, to engage us in kindneſs to all men, and in obedience to the Gods.

10. QUIT, therefore, other things,

and retain theſe few. remember alſo that each man lives only the preſent moment: the reſt of time is either ſpent and gone, or is quite unknown. it is a very little time which each man lives, and in a ſmall corner of the earth; and the longeſt ſurviving fame is but ſhort, and this conveyed through a ſucceſſion of poor mortals, each preſently a-dying; men who neither knew themſelves, nor the perſons long ſince dead.

11. TO the former ſubjoin this further rule: to make an accurate definition or deſcription of every thing which ſtrikes the imagination, ſo as to view what ſort of thing it is in its own nature, and in all its parts conſidered diſtinctly; and give it, with thyſelf, its proper name, and to all the parts in its

compoſition, into which alſo it muſt be reſolved. nothing is more effectual for giving magnanimity, than a methodical true examination of every thing which may happen in life, and while you conſider them, to revolve at the ſame time, in what ſort of regular univerſe they happen, for what uſe they are fit, of what importance they are to the whole, of what to man, the citizen of that higher city, of which the other cities and ſtates are but as families. to examine what that is which affects the mind, of what compounded, how long it can endure, and what virtue it is fit to exerciſe; ſuch as meekneſs, fortitude, truth, fidelity, ſimplicity, contentment, or the reſt? we ſhould therefore ſay of each event, This comes from God; this hap-

pens according to that deſtined contexture and connexion of events, or by conjunction with them in fortune; this comes from one of my own tribe, my kinſman, my friend, ignorant, perhaps, of what is agreeable to nature: but I am not ignorant of what is ſo; and, therefore, I muſt behave toward him with good-will and juſtice, according to the natural and ſocial law. as to things [1] indifferent, I purſue them according to their real eſtimation or value.

12. IF, in conſequence of right reaſoning upon natural principles you diſcharge your preſent duty with diligence, reſolution, and benignity, with-

1 Thus the Stoics call all the goods or evils of fortune, relating to our bodies or eſtates: which they allowed to have ſome value, or eſtimation, or importance, but would not call them abſolutely good or evil.

out any bye views, and keep unviolated and pure the divinity within you as if juſt now about to reſtore it to the Gods who gave it: if you adhere to this without further deſires or averſions, completely ſatisfied in diſcharging your preſent offices according to nature, and in the heroic ſincerity of all your profeſſions, you will live happily. now your doing this none can hinder.

13. AS [1] phyſicians have always their machines and inſtruments at hand for ſudden occaſions, ſo have you always at hand the grand maxims requiſite for underſtanding things divine and human, and for doing every thing, even the moſt minute, as aware

1 The ſame perſon was phyſician, chirurgeon, and apothecary among the ancient Greeks and Romans.

of the connexion between theſe two. for, neither will you rightly diſcharge any duty to men, nor any duty to God, if, at the ſame time, you regard not the connexion between things human and divine.

14. QUIT your wandering: for you are neither like to read over again your own commentaries and meditations, or the actions of the ancient Greeks and Romans, or the collections you have made out of the writings of others, which you have been ſtoring up for your old age. make haſte, then, to your proper end: caſt away vain hopes; and ſpeedily ſuccour yourſelf if you have that care of yourſelf; you may at preſent.

15. MEN don't underſtand how *many* things are ſignified by theſe

words, [1] to ſteal, to ſow, to purchaſe, to be in tranquillity, to diſcern what's to be done. the bodily eye ſees not theſe things: another ſort of ſight muſt diſcern them.

16. THE body, the [2] animal ſoul, the intellectual. to the body belong the ſenſes: to the animal ſoul, the appetites and paſſions: to the intellectual, the maxims of life. to have ſenſible impreſſions exciting imaginations, is common to us with the cattle. to be moved, like puppets, by appetites and paſſions, is common to us with the wild beaſts, with the moſt effeminate wretches, Phalaris, and Nero,

1 The Stoics made frequent uſe of theſe words metaphorically in their moral reaſonings about the virtues and vices of their conduct, and the natural events in the univerſe. ſee, B. IV, 36. for one inſtance.

2 See above, B. II. art. 2.

with Atheiſts, and with traitors to their country. if theſe things, then, are common to the loweſt and moſt odious characters, this muſt remain as peculiar to the good man; to have the intellectual part governing and directing him in all the occuring offices of life; to love and embrace all which happens to him by order of providence; to preſerve the divinity placed in his breaſt, pure, undiſturbed by a croud of imaginations, and ever calm and well-pleaſed, and to follow with a graceful reverence the dictates of it as of a God; never ſpeaking againſt truth, or acting againſt juſtice. and, tho' no man believe he thus lived, with ſimplicity, modeſty, and tranquillity; he neither takes this amiſs from any one; nor quits the road

which leads to the true end of life; at which he ought to arrive pure, calm, ready to part with life, and accommodated to his lot without reluctance.

BOOK IV.

1. WHEN the governing part is in its natural ſtate, it can eaſily change and adapt itſelf to whatever occurs as the matter of its exerciſe. it is not fondly ſet upon any one ſort of action. it goes about what ſeems preferable, with a proper [1] reſervation, and if any thing contrary be caſt in, makes this alſo the matter of its proper exerciſe. as a fire, when it maſters

1 The word here tranſlated reſervation, is a noted one among the Stoics, often uſed in Epictetus, Arrian, and Simplicius. it means this, that we be ſtill aware that all external things depend on fortune, and are not in our power; and that our ſole good is in our own affections, purpoſes, and actions: *if* therefore we meet with external obſtacles to our outward actions, we may ſtill retain our own proper good; and can exert proper affections and actions upon theſe very obſtacles; by reſignation to God, patience under injury; good-will toward even ſuch as oppoſe us, and by perſiſting in any good offices, which remain in our power.

the things which fall on it, tho' they would have extinguiſhed a ſmall lamp: the bright fire quickly aſſimilates to itſelf and conſumes what is thrown into it, and even thence increaſes its own ſtrength.

2. LET nothing be done at random, but according to the complete rules of art.

3. THEY ſeek retirements in the country, on the ſea-coaſts, or mountains: you too uſed to be fond of ſuch things. but this is all from ignorance. a man may any hour he pleaſes retire into himſelf; and no where will he find a place of more quiet and leiſure than in his own ſoul: eſpecially if he has that furniture within, the view of which immediately gives him the fulleſt tranquillity. by tranquillity, I mean

the moſt graceful order. allow your ſelf continually this retirement, and refreſh and renew yourſelf. have alſo at hand ſome ſhort elementary maxims, which may readily occur, and ſuffice to waſh away all trouble, and ſend you back without freting at any of the affairs to which you return. what vice of mankind can you be chagrined with, when you recollect the maxim, that 'all rational beings were 'formed for each other;' and that, 'bearing with them is a branch of ju-'ſtice,' and that, 'all miſtakes and er-'rors are involuntary,' and 'how ma-'ny of thoſe who lived in enmity, 'ſuſpicion, hatred, and quarrels, have 'been ſtretched on their funeral piles, 'and turned to aſhes?' ceaſe, then, from ſuch paſſions. will you fret at

ıat diſtribution which comes from
ıe whole, when you renew in your
:membrance that disjunctive max-
n: ‘ either it is providence which
diſpoſes of all things, or atoms;’ or
:collect how many have proved the
niverſe to be a regular ſtate, under
ne polity. or will you be touched
ith what regards your body, when
ou conſider, that the intellectual or
overning part, when it once reco-
:rs itſelf, and knows its own power,
not concerned in the impreſſions
ıade on the animal ſoul, whether
rateful or harſh. recall, too, all you
ave heard and aſſented to, about
leaſure and pain. or ſhall the little
ffair of character and glory diſturb
ou, when you reflect how all things
ıall be involved in oblivion; and the

vaſt immenſity of eternal duration on both ſides; how empty the noiſy ecco of applauſes; how fickle and injudicious the applauders; how narrow the bounds within which our praiſe is confined: the earth itſelf but as a point in the univerſe: and how ſmall a corner of it the part inhabited: and, even there, how few are they, and of how little worth, who are to praiſe us! for the future, then, remember to retire into this little part of yourſelf: above all things, keep yourſelf from diſtraction, and intenſe deſires. retain your freedom, conſider every thing as a man of courage, as a man, as a citizen, as a mortal. have theſe two thoughts ever the readieſt in all emergencies: one, that 'the 'things themſelves reach not to the

'ſoul, but ſtand without fail and mo-
'tionleſs. all your perturbation comes
'from inward opinions about them.
the other, that 'all theſe things pre-
'ſently change, and ſhall be no more.
frequently recollect what changes
thou haſt obſerved. the world is a con-
tinual change; life is opinion.

4. THE intellectual part is the ſame
to all rationals, and therefore that
reaſon alſo, whence we are called ra-
tional, is common to all. if ſo, then the
commanding power, which ſhews
what ſhould be done or not done, is
common. if ſo, we have all a common
law. if ſo, we are all fellow-citizens:
and if ſo, we have a common city.
the univerſe, then, muſt be that city;
for of what other common city are
all men citizens? hence, therefore, the

ven from this common city, we derive our intellectual power, our reaſon, our law; as my earthly part, is derived to me from ſome common earth, my moiſture from ſome common element of that kind, my aerial part from its proper fountain, and the warm or fiery part from its proper fountain too. for, nothing can ariſe from nothing, or return into it. our intellectual part hath alſo come from ſome common fountain of its own nature.

5. DEATH is, like our birth, a myſtery of nature; the one a commixture of elements, the other a reſolution into them: in neither is there any thing ſhameful, or unſuitable to the intellectual nature, or contrary to the intention of its ſtructure.

6. FROM ſuch men ſuch actio

muſt naturally and neceſſarily proceed. he who would have it otherwiſe, may as reaſonably expect figs ſhould be without juice. this, too, you ſhould always remember, that in a very ſhort time both you and he muſt die; and, a little after, not even the name of either ſhall remain.

7. TAKE away opinion, and you have removed the complaint, 'I am 'hurt.' remove 'I am hurt,' and you remove the harm.

8. WHAT makes not a man worſe than he was, makes not his life worſe; nor hurts him either without or within.

9. 'TIS for ſome advantage in the whole, that nature acts in this manner.

10. IF you attend well, you will

find that whatever happens, happens juſtly. I don't mean only in an exact order and deſtined connexion, but alſo according to juſtice, and from one who diſtributes according to merit. go on in obſerving this, as you have begun: and whatever you do, do it ſo as you may ſtill remain good, according to the intellectual and true notion of goodneſs. obſerve this in all your actions.

11. DO not entertain ſuch opinions as the man who affronts you has, or wiſhes you to entertain: but look into theſe things as they truly are.

12. YOU ſhould always have theſe two rules in readineſs; one, to act only that which the reaſon of the royal and legiſlative faculty ſuggeſts for the intereſts of mankind; the other, to be

ready to change your conduct, when any one preſent can rectify you, and make you quit any of your opinions. but let this change be always made upon ſome probable ſpecies of juſtice, or public utility, or ſuch like; and not any view of pleaſure, or glory to yourſelf.

13. HAVE you reaſon? I have. why don't you uſe it? when it performs its proper office, what more do you require?

14. YOU have ariſen as a part in the univerſe, you ſhall diſappear again, returning into your ſource; or, rather, by a change ſhall be reſumed again, into that productive intelligence from whence you came.

15. MANY pieces of frankincenſe are laid on the altar: one falls, then

another. and there's no difference, whether ſooner or later.

16. WITHIN ten days you'll appear a God to them, who now repute you a wild beaſt or an ape, if you turn to obſerve the moral maxims, and to reverence your intellectual part.

17. DO not form deſigns, as if you were to live a thouſand years. death hangs over you. while you live, while you may, become good.

18. WHAT agreeable leiſure does he procure to himſelf, who takes no notice what others ſay, do, or intend; but attends to this only, that his own actions be juſt and holy; and, according to Agathon, that there be nothing black or ill-natured in his temper? He ought not to be looking a-

round, but running on the ſtraight line, without turning aſide.

19. THE man who is ſolicitous about a ſurviving fame, conſiders not that each one of thoſe who remember him, muſt ſoon die himſelf, and ſo muſt his ſucceſſor a little after him, till at laſt this remembrance be extinguiſhed, which is handed down through a ſeries of ſtupid periſhing admirers. grant your memory were immortal, and theſe immortal, who retain it; yet what is that to thee? not to ſay, what is that to the dead? but what is it to the living, except [1] for ſome further view? in the mean time, you unſeaſonably quit what Nature hath put in your power, by graſping

1 The Stoics denied fame to be deſirable, except as it gave opportunities of more extenſive good offices.

at ſomething elſe dependent on another.

20. WHATEVER is beautiful or honourable, is ſo from itſelf, and its excellence reſts in itſelf: its being praiſed is no part of its excellence. it is neither made better nor worſe by being praiſed. this holds too in lower beauties, called ſo by the vulgar; in material forms, and works of art. what is truly beautiful and honourable, needs not any thing further than its own nature to make it ſo. thus, the law, truth, benevolence, a ſenſe of honour. are any of theſe made good by being praiſed? or, would they become bad, if they were cenſured? is an emerauld made worſe than it was, if it is not praiſed? or, is gold, ivory, pur-

ple, a dagger, a flower, a ſhrub, made worſe on this account?

21. IF the animal ſouls remain after death, how hath the aether contained them from eternity? how doth the earth contain ſo many bodies buried, during ſo long a time? as in this caſe the bodies, after remaining a while in the earth, are diſſipated and changed, to make room for other bodies, ſo the animal ſouls removed to the air, after they have remained ſome time, are changed, diffuſed, rekindled, and reſumed into the original productive ſpirit, and give place to others in like manner to cohabit with them. this may be anſwered, upon ſuppoſition that the ſouls ſurvive their bodies. we may conſider, beſide the human bodies which are buried, the

bodies of ſo many beaſts, which we and other animals feed on. what a multitude of them is thus conſumed, and buried in the bodies of thoſe who feed on them, and yet the ſame places ſtill afford room, by the changes into blood, air and fire. the true account of all theſe things is by [1] diſtinguiſhing between the material, and the active or efficient principle.

22. DO not ſuffer the mind to wander. keep juſtice in view in every deſign. and in all imaginations which may ariſe, preſerve the judging faculty ſafe.

23. WHATEVER is agreeable to thee, ſhall be agreeable to me, O graceful univerſe! nothing ſhall be to me

1 The author's ſentiment here is not well known by the critics. ſome make the active principle to be meerly the form.

too early, or too late, which is ſeaſonable to thee; whatever thy ſeaſons bear, ſhall be joyful fruits to me, O Nature! from thee are all things; in thee they ſubſiſt; to thee they return. could one ſay, 'thou dearly beloved city of Cecrops!' and wilt thou not ſay, 'thou dearly beloved city of God!'

24. 'MIND few things,' ſaid one, 'if you would preſerve tranquillity.' he might rather have ſaid, mind only what is neceſſary, and what the reaſon of the creature formed for ſocial life and public good recommends, and in the way it directs. and this will not only ſecure the tranquillity ariſing from virtuous action, but that alſo which ariſes from having few things to mind. would we cut off the moſt part of what we ſay and do, as

unneceſſary, we ſhould have much leiſure and freedom from trouble. we ſhould ſuggeſt to ourſelves on every occaſion this queſtion; Is this neceſſary? but we ought to quit, not only unneceſſary actions, but even imaginations; and, thus, ſuperfluous actions, diverting us from our purpoſe, would not enſue.

25. MAKE trial how the life of a good man would ſucceed with you, of one who is pleaſed with the lot appointed him by providence, and ſatisfied with the juſtice of his own actions, and the benevolence of his diſpoſitions.

26. YOU have ſeen the other ſtate, try alſo this. do not perplex yourſelf. has any man ſinned or offended? the *hurt* is to himſelf. hath any thing ſuc-

:eeded with you honourably? what-
:ver befalls you was ordained for you,
›y the providence of the whole, and
pun out to you by the deſtinies. to
um up all, life is ſhort. you muſt make
he beſt uſe of the preſent time, by a
rue eſtimation of things, and by juſ-
ice: and retain ſobriety in all relaxa-
ions.

27. EITHER there is an orderly
vell-diſpoſed univerſe, or a mixture of
›arts caſt together; without deſign,
vhich, yet, make an orderly compo-
ition. or, can there ſubſiſt in thee a
egular ſtructure, and yet no regular
:onſtitution be in the univerſe? and
hat when we ſee ſuch very different
›atures blended together, with con-
piring harmony?

28. CONSIDER the deformity of

theſe characters, the black or malici-ous, the effeminate, the ſavage, the beaſtly, the childiſh, the fooliſh, the crafty, the buffooniſh, the faithleſs, the tyrannical.

29. HE is a foreigner, and not a citizen of the world, who knows not what is in it; and he too, who knows not what ordinarily happens in it. he is a deſerter, who flies from the governing reaſon in this polity. he is blind, whoſe intellectual eye is cloſed. he is the beggar, who always needs ſomething from others, and has not from himſelf all that is neceſſary for life. he is an abſceſs of the world, who withdraws or ſeparates himſelf from the reaſon which preſides in the whole, by repining at what befalls: that ſame Nature produces this event

which produced thee. he is the ſeditious citizen, who [1] ſeparates his private ſoul from that one common ſoul of which all rational natures are parts.

30. ONE acts the philoſopher without a coat, and another without any books; and a third half-naked. ſays one, I have not bread, and yet I adhere to reaſon. ſays another, I have not even the ſpiritual food of inſtruction, and yet I adhere to it.

1 All vice is ſuch a ſeparation, as the Stoics define virtue to be 'an agreement 'or harmony with nature' in our affections and actions. they tell us this nature is two-fold, the common nature preſiding in the univerſe, or the deity, and the individual or proper nature in each one. we conform to the common nature, by acquieſcence in all events of providence, and by acting the part which the ſtructure of our proper nature requires and recommends, eſpecially the governing part of it, we at once conform to both the common nature and the proper; ſince our conſtitution was framed by God, the common Nature.

31. DELIGHT yourſelf in t
little art you have learned, and acq
eſce in it. and ſpend the remainder
your life,as one who with all his hea
commits all his concerns to the Goc
and neither acts the tyrant or tl
ſlave, toward any of mankind.

32. RECOLLECT, for exampl
the times of Veſpaſian; you will ſ
all the ſame things you ſee now. me
marrying,bringing up children,ſick
ning, dying, fighting, feaſting, tr
ding, farming, flattering, obſtinate i
their own will, ſuſpicious, underm
ning their neighbours, wiſhing tl
death of others, repining at their pr
ſent circumſtances, courting miſtre
ſes, hoarding up, purſuing conſulſhi
and kingdoms: this life of theirs
paſt, and is no more. come down

Trajan's days; you'll ſee the ſame things again: that life too is paſt. conſider other periods of time, and other nations, and ſee how many, after their keen purſuits of ſuch kinds, preſently fell, and were diſſolved into their elements. but chiefly repreſent to your mind thoſe whom you yourſelf knew vainly diſtracted with ſuch purſuits, and quitting that courſe which ſuited the ſtructure of their nature, not adhering to it, nor contented with it. but you muſt alſo remember, that in each action, there is a care ſuited and proportioned to the importance of the affair: and thus you'll not be diſguſted, that you are not allowed to be employed longer than is proper, about matters of leſs value.

33. WORDS formerly the moſt fa-

miliar are now grown obſcure, and in like manner, the names of ſuch as were once much celebrated, are now become obſcure, and need explication; ſuch as, Camillus, Caeſo, Volcſus, Leonnatus; ſoon after them, Scipio, Cato; and then Auguſtus; after him, Hadrian, and Antonine. all things haſten to an end, ſhall ſpeedily ſeem old fables, and then be buried in oblivion. this I ſay of thoſe who have ſhone in high admiration. the reſt of men, as ſoon as they expire, are unknown and forgotten. and then, what is this eternal memory? 'tis wholly vain and empty. about what then ſhould we employ our diligence and ſolicitude? this alone, that our ſouls be juſt, our actions ſocial, our ſpeech entirely ſincere, and our diſpoſition

ıch as may chearfully embrace whatver happens; as being neceſſary; as vell known; and as flowing from ıch ſprings and cauſes.

34. RESIGN yourſelf willingly to 'our deſtiny, allowing it to involve 'ou in what matters it pleaſes.

35. ALL things are tranſitory, nd, as it were, but for a day; both hoſe who remember; and the things, nd perſons remembred.

36. OBSERVE continually, that ll things exiſt in conſequence of hanges. enure yourſelf to conſider hat the Nature of the univerſe deghts in nothing more than in chaning the things now exiſting, and in roducing others like them. the things ow exiſting are a ſort of ſeed to thoſe hich ſhall ariſe out of them. you

may conceive that there are no other ſeeds than thoſe that are caſt into the earth or the womb; but ſuch a miſtake ſhews great ignorance.

37. YOU muſt die preſently, and yet you have not attained to the [1] true ſimplicity and tranquillity; nor to that freedom from all ſuſpicion of hurt by external things; nor have you that kind affection toward all; nor do you place your true wiſdom ſolely in a conſtant practice of juſtice.

38. [2] LOOK well into their governing part, and their cares, what things they ſtudy to avoid, and what they purſue.

1 This ſimplicity is one conſtant ſtable purpoſe, or acting according to the will of God, that part he has pointed out to be good and ſuited to the dignity of our nature.

2 This is deſigned to abate our deſire of eſteem from weak injudicious men; not, to recommend a prying into the buſineſs or characters of others.

39. THY evil cannot have its ſubſiſtence in the ſoul of another: nor in any change or alteration of the body which ſurrounds thee. where then? in that part of thee, which forms opinions concerning evils. let this part form no ſuch opinions, and all is well. tho' this poor body, which is neareſt to thee, be cut, or burned, or ſuppurated, or mortify, let the opinionative power be quiet; that is, let it judge that, what may equally befall a good man or a bad, can be neither good or evil. for what equally befalls one who lives according to nature, and one who lives againſt it, can neither be [1] according to nature, nor againſt it.

1 That is, ſuch things are neither agreeable nor contrary to the nature of the rational ſoul, or the divine part: nor are they either its good or its evil. but when one ſpeaks of the whole animal, made up alſo of an a-

40. CONSIDER always this univerſe as one living being or animal; with one material ſubſtance, and one ſpirit; and how all things are referred to the ſenſe of this ſpirit; and how it's will accompliſhes all things, and how the whole concurs to the production of every thing; and what a connexion and contexture there is among all things.

41. 'THOU art a poor ſpirit, car-'rying a dead carcaſe about with 'thee,' ſays Epictetus.

42. THERE is no evil befalls the things which ſuffer a change; nor any good in ariſing into being from a change.

nimal ſoul and a body, theſe things are agreeable or contrary to this compound, and this the Stoics ſtrongly aſſert againſt the Pyrrhoniſts. ſee, Cicero de finib. l. 3. c. 5. 6. but they would not call them good or evil.

43. TIME is a river, or violent torrent of things coming into being; each one, as ſoon as it has appeared, is ſwept off and diſappears, and is ſucceeded by another, which is ſwept away in its turn.

44. WHATEVER happens, is as natural, and cuſtomary, and known, as a roſe in the ſpring, or fruit in ſummer. ſuch are diſeaſes, deaths, calumnies, treacheries, and all which gives fools either joy or ſorrow.

45. THINGS ſubſequent are naturally connected with thoſe which preceeded. they are not as numbers of things independent of each other, yet neceſſarily ſucceeding; but they are in a regular connexion. and as things now exiſting are joined together in the moſt appoſite contexture;

ſo, thoſe which enſue, have not barely a neceſſary ſucceſſion, but a wonderful ſuitableneſs and affinity to what preceeded.

46. REMEMBER always the doctrine of Heraclitus, that 'the [1] death 'of the earth, is its becoming water; 'that of water its becoming air; that 'of air, its becoming fire, and ſo 'back again.' think of [2] him who forgot whither the road led him: and that men are frequently at variance with that reaſon or intelligence, with which they have always to do, and which governs the univerſe: and are ſurpriſed at thoſe things as ſtrange,

1 See above, B. II. 4.

2 This perſon or proverbial expreſſion, is unknown. 'tis applicable to ſuch as either live extempore, without any fixed view or end in life: or to ſuch as in purſuit of apparent goods, are involved in great miſeries, by their want of conſideration.

which they meet with every day. that we ought not to ſpeak or act like men aſleep; (for even in ſleep we ſeem to ſpeak and act;) nor like children; merely becauſe we have been ſo inſtructed by our parents.

47. IF any God would aſſure you, you muſt die either to morrow, or the next day at fartheſt, you would little matter whether it were to morrow or the day after; unleſs you were exceedingly mean-ſpirited: for how trifling is the difference? juſt ſo, you ſhould repute it of ſmall conſequence, whether you are to die in extreme old age, or to morrow.

48 CONSIDER frequently how many phyſicians, who had often knit their brows on diſcovering the prognoſtics of death in their patients, have

at laſt yielded to death themſelves: and how many aſtrologers, after foretelling the deaths of others, with great oſtentation of their art; and how many philoſophers, after they had made many long diſſertations upon death and immortality; how many warriors, after they had ſlaughtered multitudes; how many tyrants, after they had exerciſed their power of life and death with horrid pride, as if they had been immortal; nay, how many whole cities, if I may ſo ſpeak, are dead: Helice, Pompeii, Herculanum, and others innumerable. then run over thoſe whom, in a ſeries, you have known, one taking care of the funeral of another, and then buried by a third, and all this in a ſhort time. and, *in* general, all human affairs are mean,

and but for a day. what yeſterday was a trifling embryo, to morrow ſhall be an embalmed carcaſe, or aſhes. paſs this ſhort moment of time according to nature, and depart contentedly; as the full ripe olive falls of its own accord, applauding the earth whence it ſprung, and thankful to the tree that bore it.

49. STAND firm like a promontory, upon which the waves are always breaking. it not only keeps its place, but ſtills the fury of the waves. wretched am I, ſays one, that this has befallen me. nay, ſay you, happy I, who, tho' this has befallen me, can ſtill remain without ſorrow, neither broken by the preſent, nor dreading the future. the like might have befallen any one; but every one could

not have remained thus undejected. why ſhould the event be called a misfortune, rather than this ſtrength of mind a felicity? but, can you call that a misfortune, to a man, which does not fruſtrate the intention of his nature? can that fruſtrate the intention of it, or hinder it to attain its end, which is not contrary to the will or purpoſe of his nature; what is this will or purpoſe? ſure you have learned it. doth this event hinder you to be juſt, magnanimous, temperate, prudent, cautious of raſh aſſent, free from error, poſſeſſed of a ſenſe of honour and modeſty, and of true liberty; or from meriting thoſe other characters, which whoever enjoys, hath all his nature requires, as its proper perfection? and then, upon every occaſion of ſorrow,

remember the maxim, that this event is not a misfortune, but the bearing it courageouſly is a great felicity.

50. 'TIS a vulgar meditation, and yet a very effectual one, for enabling us to deſpiſe death; to conſider the fate of thoſe who have been moſt earneſtly tenacious of life, and enjoyed it longeſt. what have they obtained more than thoſe who died early? they are all lying dead ſome where or other. Caedicianus, Fabius, Julian, Lepidus, and ſuch like, who carried out the corpſes of multitudes, have been carried out themſelves. in ſum, how ſmall is the difference of time! and that ſpent amidſt how many troubles! among what worthleſs men! and in what a mean carcaſe! do not think it of conſequence. look backward on

the immenſe antecedent eternity, and forward into another immenſity, how ſmall is the difference between a life of three days, and of three ages like Neſtor's?

51. HASTE on in the ſhorteſt way. the ſhorteſt way is that according to nature. ever ſpeak and act what is moſt ſound and upright. this reſolution will free you from much toil, and warring, and artful management, and diſſimulation, and oſtentation.

BOOK V.

1. WHEN you find yourſelf, in a morning, averſe to riſe, have this thought at hand: I ariſe to the proper buſineſs of a man: and ſhall I be averſe to ſet about that work for which I was born, and for which I was brought into the univerſe? have I this conſtitution and furniture of ſoul granted me by nature, that I may lye among bed-cloaths and keep myſelf warm? but, ſay you, This ſtate is the pleaſanter. were you then formed for pleaſure, and not at all for action, and exerciſing your powers? do not you behold the vegetables, the little ſparrows, the ants, the ſpiders, the bees, each of them adorning, on

their part, this comely world, as
as their powers can go? and will y
decline to act your part as a man
this purpose? will not you run to t
which suits your nature? but, say yo
must we not take rest? you must: b
nature appoints a measure to it, as
has to eating and drinking. in r
you are going beyond these measur
beyond what is sufficient: but in a
tion, you have not come up to t
measure; you are far within t
bounds of your power: you do n
then love yourself; otherwise, yo
would have loved your own natur
and its proper will or purpose. oth
artificers, who love their respecti
arts, can even emaciate themselves b
their several labours, without due r
freshments of bathing or food: bu

you honour your nature and its purpoſe much leſs than the turner does his art of turning, or the dancer does his art, the covetous man his wealth, or the vain man his applauſe. all theſe when ſtruck with their ſeveral objects, do not more deſire to eat or ſleep, than to improve in what they are fond of; and do ſocial affectionate actions appear to you meaner, and deſerving leſs diligence and application?

2. HOW eaſy is it to thruſt away and blot out every diſturbing imagination, not ſuited to nature; and forwith to enjoy perfect tranquillity?

3. JUDGE no ſpeech or action unſuitable to you, which is according to nature; and be not diſſuaded from it, by any enſuing cenſure or reproach of others. but if the ſpeaking or ac-

ting thus be honourable, do not undervalue yourſelf ſo much as to think you are unworthy to ſpeak or act thus. theſe cenſurers have their own governing parts, and their own inclinations, which you are not to regard, or be diverted by. but go on ſtraight in the way pointed out by your own nature, and the common nature of the whole. they both direct you to the ſame road.

4. I WALK on in the path which is according to nature, till I fall down to reſt, breathing out my laſt breath into that air I daily drew in, falling into that earth whence my father derived his ſeed, my mother her blood, my nurſe her milk for my nouriſhment; that earth which ſupplied me for ſo many years with meat and

drink,and bears me walking on it,and ſo many ways abuſing it.

5. YOU cannot readily gain admiration for acuteneſs: be it ſo.but there are many other qualities, of which you cannot pretend you are naturally incapable.approve yourſelf in thoſe which are in your power, ſincerity, gravity, patient diligence, contempt of pleaſure, an heart never repining at Providence, contentment with a little, good-nature, freedom, a temper unſolicitous about ſuperfluities, ſhunning even ſuperfluous talk; and in true grandeur of mind.do not you obſerve what a number of virtues you might diſplay; for which you have no pretence of natural incapacity? and yet you voluntarily come ſhort of them. does any natural defect force

you to be querulous at providence? to be tenacious and narrow-hearted? to flatter? to complain of the body, and charge your own faults on it? to fawn on others? to be oſtentatious? to be ſo unſettled in your purpoſes and projects? no, by the Gods! you might have eſcaped thoſe vices long ago. one charge, perhaps, of a ſlow and tardy underſtanding, you could not well avoid; but in this, diligence and exerciſe might have helped the defect; if you had not neglected it, [1] nor taken a mean pleaſure in it.

6. THERE are ſome, who, when they have done you a good office, are apt to charge it to your account, as a great obligation. others are not apt thus to charge it to you, yet ſecret-

1 The reading of the text here is uncertain.

ly look upon you as much indebted to them, and know ſufficiently the value of what they have done. a third ſort ſeem not to know what they have done; but are like the vine, which produces its bunches of grapes, and ſeeks no more when it hath yielded its proper fruit. the horſe, when he hath run his courſe, the hound, when he has followed the track, the bee, when it has made its honey, and the man, when he hath done good to others, do not make a noiſy boaſt of it, but go on to repeat the like actions, as the vine in its ſeaſon produces its new cluſters again. we ought to be among thoſe, who, in a manner, ſeem not to underſtand what they have done. well, but ought we not, ſay you, to underſtand this

oint? is it not the property of the ſo-
cial being, to underſtand that it acts
the ſocial part? nay, by Jove! to de-
ſire too, that its partners and fellows
ſhould be ſenſible it acts thus? what
you ſay is true. yet if you miſappre-
hend what I ſaid above, you ſhall re
main in one of the former claſſe
who are led aſide from the high
perfection, by ſome probable ſpeci
reaſons. but if you deſire fully
comprehend what I ſaid, do not
fraid that it will ever retard you
ny ſocial action.

7. THIS is a prayer of the
nians: 'Rain, rain, kind Jupit
rilled grounds and
henians.' we ſhou
with

point? is it not the property of the ſocial being, to underſtand that it acts the ſocial part? nay, by Jove! to deſire too, that its partners and fellows ſhould be ſenſible it acts thus? what you ſay is true. yet if you miſapprehend what I ſaid above, you ſhall remain in one of the former claſſes, who are led aſide from the higheſt perfection, by ſome probable ſpecious reaſons. but if you deſire fully to comprehend what I ſaid, do not be afraid that it will ever retard you in any ſocial action.

7. THIS is a prayer of the Athenians, 'Rain, rain, kind Jupiter! up'on the tilled grounds and paſtures 'of the Athenians.' we ſhould either not pray at all, or pray with ſuch ſim-

plicity, and ſuch kind affections of free citizens toward our fellows.

8. AS, when 'tis ſaid, that, Aeſculapius hath preſcribed to one a courſe of riding, or the cold bath, or walking bare-footed; ſo it may be ſaid, that the Nature preſiding in the whole, hath preſcribed to one a diſeaſe, a maim, a loſs of a child, or ſuch like. the word 'preſcribed,' in the former caſe, imports that he enjoined it as conducing to health; and in the latter too, whatever befalls any one, is appointed as conducive to the purpoſes of fate or Providence. our very word for [1] happening to one, is, to go together appoſitely, as the ſquared ſtones in walls or pyramids, are ſaid by the workmen, to fall or join together,

1 συμβαίνειν.

and ſuit each other in a certain poſition. now, there is one grand harmonious compoſition of all things; and as the regular univerſe is formed ſuch a complete whole of all the particular bodies, ſo the univerſal deſtiny or fate of the whole, is made a complete cauſe out of all the particular cauſes. the very vulgar underſtand what I ſay. they tell you, 'fate ordered this event for ſuch an one, and this was preſcribed or appointed for him.' let us underſtand this even as when we ſay, 'the phyſician has ordered ſuch things for the patient:' for, he preſcribes many harſh diſagreeable things; which, yet, we embrace willingly, for the ſake of health. conceive, then, the accompliſhing and completing the purpoſes of the uni-

verſal Nature, to be in the univerſe, what your health is to you, and thus embrace whatever happens, altho' it ſhould appear harſh and diſagreeable: becauſe it tends to the health of the univerſe, to the proſperity and felicity of Jupiter in his adminiſtration. he never had permitted this event, had it not conduced to good. we ſee not any particular nature aiming at or admitting what does not ſuit the little private ſyſtem, in which it preſides. ſhould you not on theſe two accounts embrace and delight in whatever befalls you; one is, that it was formed, and preſcribed, and adapted for you, and deſtined originally by the moſt venerable cauſes; the other, that it is ſubſervient to the proſperity, and complete adminiſtration of that mind,

which governs the whole; nay, by Jupiter! to the ſtability and permanence of the whole. for, the whole would be maimed and imperfect, if you broke off any part of this continued connexion, either of parts or cauſes. now, you break this off, and deſtroy it, as far as you can, when you repine at any thing which happens.

9. DO not fret, deſpond, or murmur, if you have not always opportunities as you deſire, of acting according to the right maxims. if you are beat off from them, return to them again; and content yourſelf that your actions are generally ſuch as become a man; and rejoice in theſe good offices to which you return. do not return to philoſophy with reluctance, as to a ſevere tutor, but as to your medi-

cine; as one who has tender eyes, flies to the [1] ſponge and the egg; as another flies to plaiſters, a third to fomentation. you ſhould require no more than being conſcious that you have obeyed reaſon, and reſt yourſelf in this. remember that philoſophy requires no other things than what your nature requires. but you are often wanting ſomething different. what can be eaſier and ſweeter than theſe things, which are agreeable to nature? ſenſual enjoyments by their pleaſure inſnare us. but conſider, can there be any thing ſweeter than magnanimity, liberty, or ſelf-command, ſimplicity of heart, meekneſs, purity? what is ſweeter than wiſdom, when you are conſcious of ſucceſs and ſecurity from

1 A common medicine for tender eyes.

error in what belongs to the intellectual and ſcientific powers?

10. THE natures of things are ſo covered up from us, that, to many philoſophers, and theſe no mean ones, all things ſeem uncertain and incomprehenſible. the Stoics themſelves own it to be very difficult to comprehend any thing certainly. all our judgments are fallible. where is the infallible man, who never changes his opinion? conſider the objects of our knowledge; how tranſitory are they, and how mean! how often are they in the poſſeſſion of the moſt effeminately flagitious, or of a whore, or a robber! review again the manners of your contemporaries, they are ſcarce tolerable to the moſt courteous and meek diſpoſition; not to

mention that few can well comport with their own manners, but are often angry with themſelves. amidſt ſuch darkneſs and filth, and this perpetual flux of ſubſtance, of time, of motions, and of the things moved, I ſee nothing worthy of our eſteem or ſolicitude. on the contrary, the hopes of our natural diſſolution ſhould be our conſolation, and make us bear with patience the time of our ſojourning among them: refreſhing ourſelves with theſe thoughts; firſt, that nothing can befall us but what is according to the nature of the whole: and then, that it is always in our power, never to counteract the Deity or Genius within us: to this no force can compell us.

11. TO what purpoſes am I now

uſing my animal powers? this ſhould be matter of frequent ſelf-examination: as alſo, what are the views and purpoſes of that governing part, as we call it? what ſort of ſoul have I? of what character? is it that of a trifling child? of a paſſionate youth? of a timorous woman? of a tyrant? of a tame beaſt, or a ſavage one?

12. OF what value the things are, which many repute as good, you may judge from this; if one previouſly conceives the true goods, prudence, temperance, juſtice, fortitude, he cannot bear any thing attributed to them which does not naturally agree to the true kinds of good. but one thinking of what the vulgar repute as good, can patiently hear, and will with pleaſure entertain as proper to the ſubject, that

known raillery of the comic poet. and thus even the vulgar conceive the preeminence of the former; otherwiſe, they would not be offended with the applicāation of that jeſt to them, and reject it as unworthy of the ſubject. but we all reliſh that jeſt, when 'tis applied to riches, and all the poſſeſſions ſubſervient to luxury, as being ſuitable to the ſubject, and humourouſly expreſſed. go on, then, and aſk yourſelf, are theſe things to be honoured and reputed as good, which, when we conſider, we can yet deem it proper raillery to apply to the poſſeſſor, the jeſt, 'that he has ſuch a-'bundance of finery around him on 'all ſides, he can find no place where 'he can eaſe himſelf.'

13. I CONSIST of an active, and

a material principle. neither of theſe ſhall return to nothing; as they were not made out of nothing. ſhall not, then, every part of me be diſpoſed, upon its diſſolution, into the correſpondent part of the univerſe; and that, again, be changed into ſome other part of the univerſe; and thus to eternity? by ſuch changes I came into being, and my parents too, and their progenitors, from another eternity. we may aſſert this, 'tho' the world be governed by certain grand deter-

1 The Stoics ſeem to have believed a ſeries of great periodical conflagrations, from all eternity, by which the material world and the groſſer elements, were rarified and abſorbed again into the pure aether, which they deemed to be the Deity; and recreated again out of this eternal original ſubſtance: and that theſe alternate creations and conflagrations, were from eternity: and from the one to the other, was the great philoſophic year.

mined periods of diſſolution and renovation.

14. REASON, and the art of the rational agent, are powers which are ſatisfied with themſelves and their own proper action, (without the aid of what is external or foreign to them.) they act from their internal principle, and go ſtraight forward to the end ſet before them. the actions are called right, or ſtraight, from their ſtraight road to their end [1].

15. NONE of theſe things ſhould be deemed belonging to a man as his perfection, which do not belong to him as he is a man; which cannot be demanded of him as a man; which the ſtructure of his nature does not

1 Viz. acting according to our nature, be the external event what it will. ſee B. IV. 37.

undertake for; and which do no
fect his nature. the ſupreme e
happineſs of man, cannot, there
conſiſt in ſuch things, nor be co
ted by them. did any ſuch thing
long to man as his perfection, it w
never be a ſuitable perfection in
to deſpiſe and oppoſe them;
would he be commendable for
king himſelf independent of t
and not needing them. were they
ly good, it would never be the pa
a good man to quit or abate his
of them. but the more one rem
his ſhare of certain things rep
good, the more patiently he bear
ing deprived of them by others
better we muſt eſteem the man t

16. SUCH as the imagination
which you frequently dwell u

ſuch will be the diſpoſition of your ſoul. the ſoul receives a tincture from the imagination. tincture thy ſoul deeply by ſuch thoughts as theſe continually preſent, that wherever one may live, he may live well: one may live in a court, and, therefore, one may live well in it. again, whatever one's natural ſtructure and powers are fitted for, 'tis for this purpoſe he is deſigned; and by a natural impulſe is carried to it; and his ſupreme end is placed in that to which he is thus carried. in this end conſiſts his advantage, and his good. the good of a rational creature is in ſociety; for, we have long ago demonſtrated, that we were formed for ſociety. nay, was it not manifeſt, that the inferior kinds were formed for the ſuperior, and the

ſuperior for each other? now, the inanimate are inferior to the animated; and the merely animated are inferior to the rational.

17. 'TIS the part of a mad-man to purſue impoſſibilities. now, 'tis [1] impoſſible the vicious ſhould act another part than that we ſee them act.

18. NOTHING can befall any

1 That is, during theſe their preſent opinions, diſpoſitions, habits, and confuſed imaginations: all which they have fallen into according to that plan, which infinite wiſdom originally concerted for the moſt excellent purpoſes; ſeeing it to be neceſſary, that there ſhould be very different orders of being, ſome more, ſome leſs perfect; that many particular evils muſt be connected with the neceſſary means of incomparably ſuperior good; that theſe imperfections and evils are prerequiſite to the exerciſe of the moſt divine virtues, in the more perfect orders of beings; which muſt be the ground of their eternal joy: and that many evils are even requiſite means of reclaiming the leſs perfect beings from their vices, and ſetting them upon the purſuit of their trueſt happineſs. ſuch thoughts muſt repreſs ill-will and all anger againſt the vicious; but do not hinder our diſcerning the miſery and deformity of vice and a Stoic allows the vicious could refrain from their vices, if they heartily inclined to do ſo.

man, which he is not capable by nature to bear. the like events have befallen others; and they, either through ignorance that the event hath happened, or through oſtentation of magnanimity, ſtand firm and unhurt by them. ſtrange! then, that ignorance or oſtentation ſhould have more power than wiſdom!

19. THE things themſelves[1] cannot in the leaſt touch the ſoul; nor

1 The Stoics, after Plato, ſeem to conceive the rational ſoul, in which, our judgments, opinions, and calm purpoſes of action ſubſiſt, to be a being or ſubſtance diſtinct both from the groſs body, and the animal ſoul, in which are the ſenſations, lower appetites and paſſions. the rational ſoul, ſay they, is the man; the ſeat of true perfection and happineſs; or, of miſery; and of a durable nature, capable of ſubſiſting ſeparated from the other two parts; and of commanding all their motions, during this union with them, or impriſonment in them; capable of performing its proper, natural, lovely, beatific offices, independent of theſe lower parts; nay, of making the adverſe accidents, which befall them, the occaſion, or matter, of its moſt excellent beatific exerciſes.

have any acceſs to it; nor can they turn or move it. the ſoul alone can turn or move itſelf; and ſuch judgments or opinions, as ſhe condeſcends to entertain, ſuch ſhe will make all occurrences become to herſelf.

20. IN one reſpect, men are the moſt dearly attached to us, as we are ever obliged to do good to them: but in another reſpect, as they ſometimes obſtruct us in our proper offices, they are to be reputed among things indifferent, no leſs than the ſun, the wind, or a ſavage beaſt; for, any of theſe may obſtruct us in the diſcharge of our proper external offices; but, none of them can obſtruct our purpoſe, or our diſpoſitions, becauſe of that [1] re-

1 See, B. IV. 1. as alſo the note upon the preceeding ſection in this book.

ſervation and power of turning our courſe. for the ſoul can convert and change every impediment of its firſt intended action, into a more excellent object of action; and thus 'tis for its advantage to be obſtructed in action; and it advances in its road, by being ſtopped in it.

21. REVERENCE that which is moſt excellent in the univerſe; which employs all parts of it as it pleaſes, and governs all. in like manner, reverence that which is moſt excellent in yourſelf. now, this is of a like nature with the former, as it is what employs and directs all other powers in your nature; and your whole life is governed by it.

22. WHAT is not hurtful to the

1 This city is the univerſe. a mind entirely conformed and reſigned to God, the great governour of this

ſtate or city, cannot hurt the citizen. make uſe of this rule upon every conception of any thing as hurting you. if the city is not hurt by it, I cannot be hurt. if the city ſhould receive hurt by it, yet we ſhould not be angry at him who hurt it, but [1] ſhew him what he has neglected, or how he has done wrong.

23. CONSIDER frequently, how ſwiftly all things which exiſt, or ariſe, are ſwept away, and carried off. their ſubſtance is as a river in a perpetual courſe. their actions are in perpetual

city, and perſuaded of his wiſdom, power, and goodneſs, cannot imagine any event to be hurtful to the univerſe; and when it is united in will with God, it muſt acquieſce in all that happens, and can make all *vents* good to itſelf, as they are occaſions of exerting the nobleſt virtues, which are its ſupreme good.

1 This is an impoſſible ſuppoſition, but the ſentiment juſt, according to the Stoic opinion; ſee the note on art. 17. of this book.

changes, and the cauſes ſubject to ten thouſand alterations. ſcarce any thing is ſtable. and the vaſt eternities, paſt and enſuing, are cloſe upon it on both hands; in which all things are ſwallowed up. muſt he not, then, be a fool, who is either puffed up with ſucceſs in ſuch things; or is diſtracted, and full of complaints about the contrary; as if it could give diſturbance of any duration?

24. REMEMBER how ſmall a part you are of the univerſal Nature; how ſmall a moment of the whole duration is appointed for you; and how [1] ſmall a part you are of the object of univerſal fate, or Providence.

1 And thence you will ſee how juſt and merciful it may be, to ſubject your little tranſitory intereſts, to thoſe of the great univerſe, and to that plan of Providence, which is fitteſt for the whole.

25. DOES any one injure me? let him look to it. he hath his own diſpoſition, and his own work. I have that diſpoſition, which the common preſident Nature wills me to have, and act that part, which my own nature recommends to me.

26. KEEP the governing part of the ſoul [1] unmoved by the grateful or painful commotions of the fleſh; and let it not blend itſelf with the body; but circumſcribe and ſeparate itſelf; and confine theſe paſſions to thoſe bodily parts. when they aſcend into the ſoul, by means of that ſympathy conſtituted by its union with the body, there is no withſtanding of the ſenſation which is natural. but let not the governing part add alſo its opini-

1 See, art. 19. of this book.

on concerning them, as if they were good or evil.

27. WE ſhould live a divine life with the Gods. he lives with the Gods, who diſplays before them his ſoul, pleaſed with all they appoint for him, and doing whatever is recommended by that divinity within, which Jupiter hath [1] taken from himſelf, and given each one as the conductor, and

1 The Stoics conceived the divine ſubſtance, to be an infinitely diffuſed and all-pervading aether, the ſeat of all wiſdom, power and goodneſs: and that our ſouls were ſmall particles of this aether: and that even thoſe of brutes were particles of the ſame, more immerſed and entangled in the groſſer elements.

Divinae particulam aurae. HOR.
Eſſe apibus partem divinae mentis, et hauſtus
Aetherios, dixere. deum namque ire per omnes
Terraſque tractuſque maris, coelumque profundum:
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum;
Quemque ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere vitas:
Scilicet huc reddi, deinde, et reſoluta referri
Omnia———

VIRG. Geor. IV. 220. ſee alſo, Aeneid. VI. 724 to 746.

leader of his life. and this is the intellectual principle and reaſon in each man.

28. CAN you be angry at one, whoſe arm-pits or whoſe breath are diſagreeable? how can the man help it, who has ſuch a mouth or ſuch arm-pits? they muſt have a ſmell. but, ſays one, man has reaſon: he could by attention, diſcern what is injurious in his actions; [theſe may juſtly raiſe anger.] well, God bleſs you, you have this reaſon too. rouſe then his rational diſpoſitions, by your rational diſpoſitions; inſtruct, ſuggeſt to him, what is right. if he liſtens to you, you have cured him, and then there is no occaſion for anger. let us have no tragical exclamations againſt the vices and injuries of others; nor a baſe

concurrence with them, like that of harlots.

29. YOU may live at preſent in the ſame way you would chuſe to be living, when you knew your death was approaching. if you are hindered to do ſo, then you may quit life; and yet without conceiving the quitting it as evil. if my houſe be ſmoaky, I go out of it; and where is the great matter? while no ſuch thing forces me out, I ſtay as free; and who can hinder me to act as I pleaſe? but my pleaſure is, to act as the rational and ſocial nature requires.

30. THE Soul of the univerſe is kind and ſocial. it has, therefore, made the inferior orders for the ſake of the ſuperior; and has ſuited the ſuperior beings for each other. you

ſee how it hath ſubordinated, and co-ordinated, and diſtributed to each according to its merit, and engaged the nobler beings into a mutual agreement and unanimity.

31. [EXAMINE yourſelf thus:] how have you behaved toward the Gods, toward your parents, your brothers, your wife, your children, your teachers, thoſe who educated you, your friends, your intimates, your domeſtics? have you never ſaid or done any thing unbecoming, toward any of them? recollect through how many affairs of life you have paſt, and what offices you have been able to ſuſtain and diſcharge. the hiſtory of your life, and of your [1] public ſervice

1 Obſerve here the ſame divine ſentiment with the *Apoſtle*; that whatever we do in word or deed, we ſhould do it as to God.

to the Gods, is not completed. what beautiful and honourable things are ſeen in your life? what pleaſures and what pains have you deſpiſed? what occaſions of vain oſtentation have you deſignedly omitted? toward how many perverſe unreaſonable creatures, have you [1] exerciſed diſcretion and lenity?

32. WHY ſhould the inſtructed, the intelligent, and ſkilful ſoul be diſturbed by the rude and illiterate? what ſoul is truly ſkilful and intelligent? [2] that which knows the cauſe and the end of all things, and that reaſon which pervades all ſubſtances in all ages, and governs the whole u-

1 Here he is recommending not only forgiveneſs, but the returning good for evil.

2 The knowledge of God and his providence, is the true wiſdom.

niverſe by [1] certain determined periods.

33. PRESENTLY you ſhall be only aſhes and dry bones, and a name; or, perhaps, not even a name. a name is but a certain noiſe or ſound, or echo. the things moſt honoured in life are but vain, rotten, mean; little dogs ſnapping at each other; children ſquabling and vying with each other; laughing, and preſently weeping again. but integrity, modeſty, juſtice, and truth, [2] 'from 'the wide range of earth have ſoar'd 'to heaven.' what, then, ſhould detain thee here? ſince all things ſenſible are in perpetual change, without any ſtability: the ſenſes themſelves but dull, and apt to admit falſe appearances: the animal life, but an ex-

1 See above, B. V. 13. 2 Heſiod. I. 195.

halation from blood: to have reputation among ſuch animals, is a poor empty thing. why, then, ſhould you not wait patiently for either your extinction, or tranſlation into another ſtate? and, till the proper ſeaſon for it comes, what ſhould ſuffice thee? to reverence and praiſe the Gods, and to do good to men, bearing with their weakneſs, abſtaining from injuries, and conſidering external things ſubſervient to thy poor body and life, as what are not thine, nor in thy power.

34. YOU may always be proſperous, if you go on in the right way, in right opinions and actions. theſe two advantages are common to Gods, to men, and every rational ſoul; one, that they can [1] be hindered by no-

1 See above, B. V. 19. and B. IV. 1.

thing external; the other, that they have their [1] proper good or happineſs in their juſt diſpoſitions, and actions, and can make their deſires terminate and ceaſe here, without extending further.

35. IF this event be neither any vice of mine, nor any action from any vicious diſpoſition of mine, nor be hurtful to the whole, why am I diſturbed by it. nay, who can hurt the whole?

36. DO not let your imagination hurry you away incautiouſly in any ſeeming diſtreſs of your friend. aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of your power, as

1 Quae vobis, quae digna, viri, pro talibus auſis,
Praemia poſſe rear ſolvi? pulcherrima primum
Di, moreſque dabunt veſtri. AENEID. IX. 253.
Di tibi, &c.
Et mens ſibi conſcia recti,
Praemia digna ferent. AENEID. I. 607.

far as he deſerves in theſe [1] indifferent ſort of things; but, do not imagine that he has ſuſtained any evil. there is no evil in ſuch things. but, as in the [2] comedy, the old foſter-father aſks from the child, with great earneſtneſs, his top, as a token of his love, tho' he knew well it was a childiſh toy; juſt ſo, you muſt act in life about the toys which others value. when you are vehemently declaiming from the roſtrum, ſhould one ſay to you, 'What, man, have you forgot the 'nature of theſe things you are ſo 'keen about.' nay, ſay you, 'tho' I 'have not forgot it, yet I know theſe

1 The Stoics called all external advantages or diſadvantages, reſpecting the body or fortune, things indifferent, neither good, nor evil; but they allowed this difference among them, that ſome were according to nature, and preferable; others contrary to nature, and to be rejected.

2 This comedy is not known.

' are matters of ſerious concern to
' thers,' and, therefore, you do w
to act thus. but take care you do n
in your own ſentiments become
fool, becauſe others are fools. y
may ſo manage, that, in whatever pla
or time one comes upon you, y
may be found a man of an happy l
he has the happy lot, who diſtribu
one to himſelf. the happy lots
good diſpoſitions of ſoul, good deſi
and purpoſes, and good actions.

BOOK VI.

1. THE matter of the univerſe is obedient, and eaſily changed: the intelligence, which governs it, has no cauſe in itſelf, of doing evil to any. it has no malice; nor can it do any thing maliciouſly; nor is any one hurt by it. it is the cauſe of all that happens, as it executes all things.

2. PROVIDED you act the part that becomes you, let it be of no account with you, whether you do it ſhivering with cold, or agreeably warm; whether drouſy through long watching, or refreſhed with ſleep; whether in good report, or bad report; whether by dying, or by any other action. for, dying is one piece

of the natural buſineſs of every livin creature. 'tis ſufficient, then, if it b well performed.

3. LOOK narrowly into thing let not the proper quality, or dignity of any thing, eſcape your obſerva tion.

4. ALL things now exiſting ſha ſpeedily be changed, either [1] by ex haling and rarifying, if all be one ſub ſtance; or be diſſolved and diſperſe into the ſeveral elements.

5. THE governing mind in the u niverſe, knows its own diſpoſition and actions, and the nature of tha matter it is acting upon.

1 See above, B. V. 13. o- thers of the ancients belie- ved, there were four origi- nal immutable elements, out of which all compound bo dies were formed, and int which they were reſolved.

6. THE beſt ſort of revenge, is, not to become like the injurious.

7. DELIGHT thyſelf in this one thing, and reſt in it; to be going from one kind ſocial action to another, with remembrance of God.

8. THE governing part is that which rouſes, and turns, and forms itſelf, ſuch as it chuſes to be; and makes every event appear ſuch to itſelf, as it inclines.

9. ALL things are accompliſhed by the Nature preſiding in the whole; nor can they be influenced by any other, either ſurrounding it without, or contained as diſtinct within it, or externally annexed to it.

10. EITHER the univerſe is a confuſed maſs and intertexture, ſoon to be diſperſed; or one orderly whole,

under a providence. if the former; why ſhould I wiſh to ſtay longer in this confuſed mixture? or be ſolicitous about any thing, further than '[1] how to become earth again?' or, why ſhould I be diſturbed about any thing? the diſperſion will overtake me, do what I pleaſe. but, if the latter be the caſe; then I adore the governour of the whole, I ſtand firm, and truſt in him.

II. WHEN you find yourſelf forced, as it were into ſome confuſion or diſturbance, by ſurrounding objects, return into yourſelf as ſpeedily as you can; and depart no more from the true harmony of the ſoul, than what is abſolutely unavoidable. you ſhall acquire greater power of retain-

1 Homer, Iliad. 7. 91.

ing this harmony, by having frequent recourſe to it.

12. HAD you, at once, a ſtep-mother, and a mother; tho' you reſpected the former, yet your conſtant reſort and refuge, would be the latter: ſuch to you is the court and philoſophy. return often to your true mother, philoſophy; and refreſh yourſelf: ſhe will make the affairs of the court tolerable to you, and make you tolerable to thoſe about it.

13. YOU may revolve ſuch thoughts as theſe, about the niceſt delicacies of ſenſe: about food, this is the dead carcaſe of a fiſh, a fowl, a hog: about wine, this is the juice of a little grape: about your purple robes, this is the wool of a ſheep, ſteeped in the blood of a little ſhell-fiſh: about venereal

enjoyments, they are the attrition of a baſe part of our body, and a convulſive ſort of excretion of a mucus. theſe conceptions, touching ſo nearly, and explaining the nature of theſe ſubjects, how powerful are they to diſplay to us their deſpicable value? thus we ſhould employ the mind, in all parts of life: when things occur, which, at firſt, ſeem worthy of high eſtimation: we ſhould ſtrip them naked, and view their meanneſs; and caſt aſide theſe pompous deſcriptions of them, by which they ſeem ſo glorious. external pomp and high language, are great ſophiſters; and moſt impoſe upon us, when we are employed in matters commonly reputed of great dignity. remember [1] what

1 This ſaying is not known.

Crates ſaid, about the ſolemn gravity of Xenocrates.

14. THE objects of vulgar admiration, may be reduced to ſome general claſſes. firſt, ſuch as are preſerved by mere coheſion, or, regular, but inanimate ſtructure, or organization; ſuch as ſtones, timber, fig-trees, vines, olive-trees. men, a rank higher, admire things preſerved by an animal ſoul; ſuch as flocks and herds. the admiration of a third and higher claſs of men, with a more elegant taſte, turns upon what is accompliſhed by a rational ſoul; not as it is akin to the univerſal Spirit; but as artificial, and otherwiſe ingenious, and acute; and merely on this account. thus, numbers of [1] ſlaves are valued. but he who

1 Slaves were chiefly va- | lued, according as they had

honours and admires the rational ſoul, as univerſal, and ſocial, or public-ſpirited, in this univerſal city, he will deſpiſe theſe other objects of admiration; and, above all things, he will ſtudy to preſerve his own rational ſoul, in theſe ſocial diſpoſitions and affections; and co-operate with thoſe ſouls which are akin to it, in the ſame purpoſe.

15. SOME things haſten into being: ſome haſten to be no more: ſome parts of things in being, are already extinct. theſe fluxes and changes renew the world; as the conſtant flux of particular periods of time, ever preſent to us new parts of the infinite eternity. in this vaſt river, what is

genius for, and were inſtructed in the more elegant arts, painting, ſtatuary, ſculpture, muſic, acting, and even medicine.

there, among the things ſwept away with it, that one can value; ſince it can never be ſtopped or retained? as if one ſhould grow fond of one of the ſparrows, as it flies by us, when it ſhall be immediatly out of ſight. ſuch is the life of each man; an exhalation from blood,[1] or a breathing in of air: and ſuch as it is to draw in that air, which you are preſently to breath out again every minute, ſuch alſo is this whole power of breathing, which you received, as it were, yeſterday, or the day before, when you were born; and muſt preſently reſtore again to the ſource whence you derived it.

16. THERE is little valuable, either in perſpiring, like vegetables; or breathing, as cattle, and wild beaſts

1 See, B. II. 2. and the note upon it.

do; or in having ſenſible impreſſions made upon the imagination; or in being moved like puppets, by our ſeveral paſſions and appetites; or in mere herding together; or in being nouriſhed. there is nothing in this ſuperior to the diſcharging again what is ſuperfluous of the food we have taken in. what, then, is valuable? to be received with claps of applauſe? not at all. nor is the applauſe of tongues more valuable. the praiſes of the vulgar are nothing but the noiſe of tongues. if you have, then, quit the purſuit of this trifling ſort of glory, what remains as valuable? this one thing, I imagine, [1] to move, or ſtop yourſelf, in all deſires or purſuits, according to the proper fabric or ſtruc-

1 See, IX. 12.

ture of your nature: for, this is what all deſign and art is tending to; this is all its aim, that the thing formed by art, ſhould be adapted to the work it is deſigned for. this, the planter, and the vine-dreſſer, the horſe-rider, and the breeder of the hound, are in queſt of. at what does all education and inſtruction aim? in this, therefore, is placed all that is valuable. if you ſucceed well in this, you need not be ſolicitous to acquire any thing further. will not you, then, ceaſe to value other things? if you do not, you will never attain to freedom, ſelf-contentment, independency, or tranquillity: for, you muſt be enviouſly and ſuſpiciouſly vying with thoſe who can deprive you of ſuch things as you highly value; laying ſnares for thoſe

who poſſeſs them; and pining with vexation, when you want them; and even accuſing the Gods. but, the [1] reverencing and honouring your own intellectual part, will make you agreeable to yourſelf, harmonious with your fellows, and in a perfect concord with the Gods; praiſing whatſoever they diſtribute or appoint to men.

17. THE elements are toſſed upwards, downwards, and all around. the motions of virtue are like none of theſe; but are of a more divine ſort; going on in a way not eaſily diſcerned, and [2] ever proſperous.

18. WHAT ſtrange conduct is this! ſome men cannot ſpeak a good word of their contemporaries, with

1 B. II. 6. and the note upon it.

2 B. IV. 37. and B. V. 14. and 19. and the notes.

whom they live; [and, one would thence imagine, they could not value being praiſed by them;] and yet are very ſolicitous, about gaining the praiſes of poſterity, whom they never ſaw, nor ſhall ſee. this ſeems as fooliſh, as to be concerned that we cannot obtain the praiſes of the ages which preceeded our exiſtence.

19. IF any thing ſeems exceedingly difficult for you to accompliſh, do not conclude it to be impoſſible to all men: but rather, if you ſee any thing poſſible to man, and a part of his proper work, conclude that you alſo may attain to it.

20. IF, in the exerciſes, one has torn us with his nails, or bruiſed us accidentally with his head, we expreſs no reſentment; we are not offended;

nor do we ſuſpect him for the future, as a perſon ſecretly deſigning our deſtruction: and yet we are on our guard againſt him; not as an enemy, or a perſon ſuſpected; but with a good-natured caution, for our own ſafety. let us thus behave in all parts of life, and conceive many things thus done, as in the exerciſes. let us, as I ſaid, be upon our guard; but without ſuſpicion or enmity.

21. IF any one can convince me, or ſhew me, that my ſentiments, or conduct, has been wrong; I will joyfully alter them. 'tis truth I am ſearching for, which never hurts any man. but men are often hurt, by remaining in error and ignorance.

22. I ENDEAVOUR, to do my duty, and what becomes me. other

things do not give me ſolicitude: they are either inanimate, or irrational; or wandering from the right way, and ignorant of it.

23. I ENDEAVOUR, as one poſſeſſed of reaſon, to uſe the brute animals, and all other irrational objects, with magnanimity and freedom; and to act the kind and ſocial part, toward my fellow-men; who enjoy reaſon as I do. in all things, implore the aſſiſtance of the Gods; and repute it of no conſequence, for what ſpace of time you ſhall continue thus employed. three hours of ſuch a life is ſufficient. [as well as the three ages of Neſtor.]

24. ALEXANDER of Macedon, and his muleteer, when they died, were in a like condition. they were

either [1] reſumed into the original productive cauſes of all things, or [2] diſperſed into the atoms.

25. CONSIDER, how many different things are done, in each one of our bodies; and in our ſouls too, in the very ſame moment; and you will the leſs wonder, that far more, nay, that all things which now happen, at once exiſt in this one univerſal ſyſtem, we call the world.

1 The Stoics ſpoke doubtfully about a future ſtate, whether the rational ſouls ſubſiſted as ſeparate intelligences, or were abſorbed in the Divinity. many believed a ſeparate exiſtence of good ſouls for a thouſand years, and of the eminently virtuous, for eternity, in the dignity of Gods, which we would call that of angels, with delegated powers of governing certain parts of the univerſe.

2 This latter branch, is the Epicurean doctrine, which the Stoics oppoſed. but they, and the Platoniſts too, imitating Socrates's manner, generally propoſe this alternative, to ſhew that, at the very worſt, there is no evil in death; that all external things are but mean, ſince they are of ſhort duration, and are no preſervatives againſt death. and they endeavoured to make virtue eligible, from the very feelings of the heart, abſtracting from theſe their incertain tenets about futurity.

26. SHOULD one deſire you to ſpell the name Antoninus, would you not diſtinctly pronounce to him each one of the letters? ſhould he turn into any angry diſpute about it, would you alſo turn angry, and not rather mildly count over the ſeveral letters to him? thus, in our preſent buſineſs, our duty conſiſts of a great many numbers, or elements: [according to the many different relations and obligations of each perſon:] ought we not to obſerve all theſe calmly; and, without anger at thoſe who are angry with us, go ſtraight on in executing what is our preſent buſineſs?

27. IS it not cruel, to reſtrain men from deſiring, or purſuing, what appears to them as their proper good or advantage? and yet you ſeem charge-

able in a certain manner with this conduct, when you are angry at the miſtakes, and wrong actions of men: for, all are carried toward what appears to them their proper good. but, ſay you, it is not their proper good. well: inſtruct them, then, and teach them better, and do not be angry with them.

28. DEATH is the ceſſation of the ſenſual impreſſions, of the impulſes of the appetites and paſſions, of the toilſome reaſonings, and of the ſervitude to the fleſh.

29. 'TIS very diſhonourable in life, that the ſoul ſhould fail and deſert its duty; while the body can hold out, and ſuſtain its part.

30. TAKE care you do not degenerate into the manners of the Ceſars, or be tinctured by them. pre-

ſerve your ſimplicity of manners, goodneſs, integrity, gravity, freedom from oſtentation, love of juſtice, piety, good-nature, kind affection, ſtedfaſt firmneſs in your duty. endeavour earneſtly to continue ſuch as philoſophy requires you to be. reverence the Gods, ſupport the intereſts of mankind. life is ſhort. the ſole enjoyment of this terreſtrial life, is in the purity and holineſs of our diſpoſitions, and in kind actions. act as it becomes the ſcholar of Antoninus Pius. imitate his conſtant reſolute tenor of rational actions; his equability on all occaſions; his ſanctity; his ſerenity of countenance; his ſweetneſs of temper; his contempt of vain glory; and his cloſe attention in examining every thing. remember how

he never quitted any ſubject, till he had thoroughly examined it, and underſtood it; and how he bore thoſe who accuſed him unjuſtly, without making any angry returns; how he was ever calm without hurry; how he diſcouraged all accuſations; how accurately he inquired into the manners and actions of men; how cautious he was of reproaching any; how free from fear, ſuſpicion, or ſophiſtry; how he was contented with a little, as to his habitation, furniture, dreſs, table, attendants; how patient he was of labour; how hard to be provoked; he could perſiſt in buſineſs till the evening, without eaſing himſelf, through his great abſtemiouſneſs; how ſtedfaſt and evenly he was in his conduct to his friends; and patient of their op-

poſition to his ſentiments; and how joyfully he received any better informations from them; how religious he was, without ſuperſtitious dread: that thus the hour of death may come upon you, well aware of it, and prepared to meet it; as it came on him.

31. AWAKE, and call yourſelf up; and, as you ſee, when you are fully rouſed, that theſe were but dreams which diſturbed you; ſo, when you are awake in the buſineſs of life, conſider the things which may diſturb you, as of a like nature with thoſe which diſturbed you in ſleep.

32. I CONSIST of a mean body, and a ſoul. to the body all things are indifferent; for, it cannot diſtinguiſh them; and, to the intellectual part, all things are indifferent, which are not

its own operations; and all its own operations are in its power; and of theſe, it is only affected by what are preſent. its paſt and future operations are to it now indifferent.

33. LABOUR is not contrary to the nature of the hand, or the foot; while the hand is doing the proper work of an hand, and the foot what is proper to the foot. no more is labour contrary to the nature of man, as he is man; while he is doing what ſuits the nature of a man; and if it be not contrary to his nature, it cannot be evil to him.

34. WHAT great ſenſual enjoyments may be obtained by robbers, by the moſt infamouſly diſſolute, by parricides, by tyrants? [can the happineſs of man conſiſt in them?]

35. DO not you ſee, how comm artificers, tho' they may comply to a certain length with the unſkilful, yet ſtill adhere to the rules of their art, and cannot endure to depart from them? is it not grievous, that the architect, or the phyſician, ſhould ſhew a greater reverence to the rules of their peculiar arts, than the man [as he is rational] ſhews to the rules of human life; rules which are common to him with the Gods?

36. ASIA, Europe, are but little corners of the univerſe: the whole ocean is but a drop of it: Athos but a little clod. all the time of this preſent age is but a point of eternity. all things are but little, changeable, and preſently to vaniſh. all things proceed from the univerſal governing mind, either

by direct and primary intention, or by neceſſary conſequence and connexion with things primarily intended. thus, the horrid jaws of the lion, poiſons, and whatever is pernicious, as thorns, as mire, are the conſequences of thoſe venerable and lovely things you admire. do not, therefore, imagine them foreign to that conſtitution of nature which you reverence; but conſider well the fountain of all things.

37. HE who ſees things preſent, has ſeen all things which either have been from eternity, or ſhall be to eternity; for, all are of the like nature, and ſimilar.

38. CONSIDER frequently the connexion of all things in the univerſe, and the relation they bear to each o-

ther. all things are, as it were, entangled with each other, and are, therefore, mutually friendly. this is a natural conſequence, or, in a natural ſeries, with the other; either by connexion of place, or mutual conſpiring to the ſame end, or by continuity of ſubſtance.

39. ADAPT thyſelf to thoſe things which are deſtined for you by Providence, and love thoſe men, with whom it is your lot to live, and that with a ſincere affection.

40. AN inſtrument, a tool, an utenſil, is then right, when it is fit for its work; even tho' the artificer who formed it be gone. but, in the artful works of nature, the artificial power which formed them, remains and reſides within them. you ought, therefore,

to reverence them the more; and to judge, that, if you are diſpoſed, and conduct yourſelf according to the intention of this artificial power which formed you, all things are as you ſhould wiſh. thus, all things are to the whole, according to its inclination.

41. WHENEVER you imagine, any of theſe things which are not in your power, are good or evil to you; if you fall into ſuch imagined evils, or are diſappointed of ſuch goods, [1] you muſt neceſſarily accuſe the Gods, and hate thoſe men, who, you deem, were the cauſes, or ſuſpect will be cauſes of ſuch misfortunes. our ſolicitude about ſuch things, leads to a great deal of injuſtice. but, if we judge only the things in our power, to be good or e-

[1] IX. 1.

vil, there remains no further cauſe of accuſing the Gods, or of any hoſtile diſpoſition againſt men.

42. WE are all co-operating to one great work, [the intention of the univerſal mind in the world;] ſome, with knowledge and underſtanding, others, ignorantly, and undeſignedly. thus, I fancy, Heraclitus ſays, that 'men aſleep are alſo then labouring,' accompliſhing, on their part, the events of the univerſe. one contributes to this one way, and another, another way. nay, what is beyond expectation, even the querulous and the murmurers, who attempt to oppoſe the courſe of nature, and to obſtruct what happens, contribute alſo to this purpoſe: for, 'the world muſt needs

have within it ſuch perſons alſo. think, then, in what claſs you would wiſh to rank yourſelf. the preſiding mind will certainly make a right uſe of you, one way or other; and will inliſt you among his labourers and fellow-workers. do not chuſe to be ſuch a part, as, Chryſippus ſays, a ſilly ridiculous ſentiment expreſſed by a fool in a comedy makes, which, 'of its ſelf is 'very ſilly and vicious, but yet is an 'agreeable part in the play.'

43. DOES the ſun affect to perform the work of the rain, or Aeſculapius that of Ceres? the ſeveral ſtars, too, have they not different courſes, but all jointly contributing to the ſame end?

44. IF the Gods have taken counſel about me, and the things to befall

me, the reſult of their counſel is certainly good. a God without counſel and providence is inconceivable; and, what could move them to do me any miſchief? what advantage could thence accrue, either to themſelves, or to the univerſe, about which they are chiefly concerned? if they have not taken counſel about me in particular, they certainly have about the common intereſt of the univerſe. I ought, therefore, to love, and chearfully embrace, that which happens in conſequence of what is well ordered for the univerſe. if, indeed, they take no counſel about any thing; which it would be impious to believe; for, then, we might quit ſacrificing, prayers, and ſwearing by them, and all acts of devotion; which we now

perform, from a perſuaſion of their preſence, and concern in the affairs of human life: but, grant they took no thought about our affairs; yet, certainly, I may deliberate about myſelf. my deliberation muſt be about my true intereſt. now, that is the true intereſt of every one, which is agreeable to the ſtructure of his nature. my natural conſtitution is that of a rational being, fitted for civil ſociety. my city and country, as I am Antoninus, is Rome; but, as I am a man, 'tis the univerſe. that alone, therefore, which is profitable to thoſe cities, can be good to me.

45. WHATEVER happens to any one, is profitable to the whole. this is enough. but, if you attend, you will ſee this alſo holds univerſally;

that, what happens to any one man, is profitable alſo to others. let the word profitable be [1] taken, here, in a more popular ſenſe, to relate to things indifferent.

46. AS it happens in the theatre and ſuch places of the ſhows, that the ſame and like things, always preſented, at laſt cloy us; the ſame happens in the whole of life: for, all things, earlier or later, are juſt the ſame, and from the ſame cauſes. how long, then, can we deſire to ſtay gazing on them.

47. CONSIDER frequently, that all men, of all ſorts, of all kinds of ſtudies or purſuits, of all nations, have died. return back to Philiſtio, Phoebus, and Origanio. go to other tribes, we muſt all remove to that place, whi-

1 See, B. II. 1.

ther ſo many great orators, ſo many venerable philoſophers, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Socrates, and ſo many heros, have gone before; and ſo many generals and princes have followed. add to theſe, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Archimedes, and other acute, ſublime, laborious, artful, and arrogant genii; yea, ſuch as have wittily derided this fading mortal life, which is but for a day; ſuch as Menippus, and his brethren. conſider that all theſe are long ſince in their graves. and, what is there calamitous in this to them; or even to ſuch obſcure men, whoſe names do not remain? the one thing valuable in this life, is, to ſpend it in a ſteddy courſe of truth, juſtice,

and [1] humanity, toward even the falſe and unjuſt.

48. WHEN you would chear your heart, conſider the ſeveral excellencies and abilities of your acquaintances; ſuch as, the activity of one, the high ſenſe of honour and modeſty in another, the liberality of a third, and other virtues, in others. nothing rejoyces the heart ſo much as the appearances or reſemblances of the virtues, in the manners of thoſe we converſe with, frequently occurring to our view. let us, therefore, have them ready to reflect upon.

49. ARE you grieved that you are only of ſuch or ſuch a ſmall weight, and not three hundred weight? no

1 Here again the divine ſentiment of returning good for evil.

more reaſon have you to be grieved that you live to ſuch an age, and not to a greater. be content, as with the quantity of matter, ſo, with the ſpace of time appointed for you.

50. LET us ſtudy to convince others of what is juſt; but, let us ourſelves act what is juſt, whether they will or not. ſhould one oppoſe you with ſuperior force, then rouſe your reſignation to Providence, and your tranquillity; and improve this obſtruction for the exerciſe of ſome other virtue; and remember, your former purpoſe was taken up with this [1] reſervation, that you were never to aim at impoſſibilities. what, then, did you chiefly propoſe? to make a good at-

1 See above, B. IV. 1.

tempt. in this you ſucceed; altho' you do not obtain what you firſt aimed at.

51. THE vain-glorious man places his good in the action of another; but the ſenſual, in his own ſuffering or paſſive feeling: the wiſe man places it in his own action.

52. YOU have it in your power, to have no ſuch opinion, and thus to keep your ſoul undiſturbed. the external things themſelves have no power of cauſing opinions in us.

53. ENURE yourſelf to attend exactly to what is ſaid by others, and to enter into the ſoul of the ſpeaker.

54. WHAT is not the intereſt of the hive, is not the intereſt of the bee.

55. IF the ſailors revile the pilot, and the patients the phyſician, whom will they attend to, and obey? and,

how will the one procure ſafety to the ſailors, or the other to the patients?

56. HOW many of thoſe who entered the world along with me, are gone off before me?

57. TO men in the jaundice, honey ſeems bitter; and water is formidable to thoſe who are bitten with a mad-dog. to boys the ball ſeems beautiful and honourable. why am I angry? has error in the mind leſs power than a little bile in the man who is in the jaundice, or a little poiſon in the man who was bit?

58. NO man can hinder you to live according to the plan of your nature. and nothing can befall you, contrary to the plan of the univerſe.

59. EXAMINE well, what ſort of

men they are; whom they ſtudy to pleaſe; and with what views; and by what actions they expect to pleaſe them. how ſpeedily eternity will ſweep them away into obſcurity! and how many it hath already ſwept away!

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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